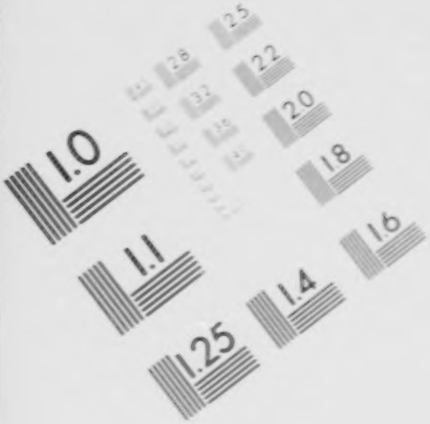

AIIM

Association for Information and Image Management

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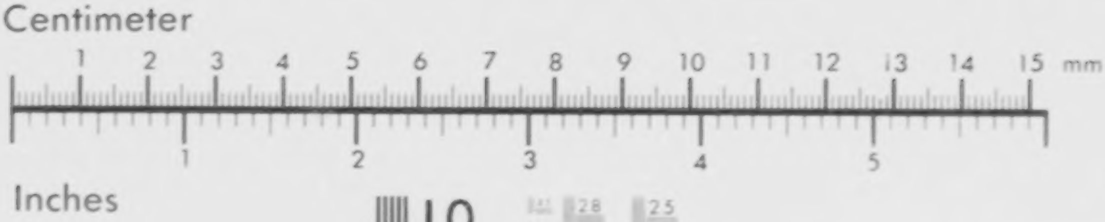
301/587-8202


Centimeter
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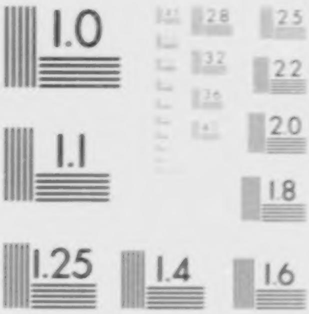
1.0
1.1
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2.5
2.8
3.2

MANUFACTURED TO AIIM STANDARDS
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DOCUMENT RESUME

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ABSTRACT

The Advertising Division section of the proceedings contains the following 14 papers: "The Effectiveness of Banner Advertisements: Involvement and Click-Through" (Chang-Hoan Cho and John D. Leckenby); "Messages of Hope: Developing Health Campaigns that Address Misperceptions of Breast Cancer Held by Women of Color" (Cynthia M. Frisby); "Advertising and the Consumer's Hunt for Information: Traditional and Internet Sources" (Catherine Ilse Pfeifer); "Presidential Primary 2000 Videocassettes: A Framing Study" (John Parmalee); "Influence of Cigarette Promotion on Juvenile Susceptibility to Smoking: A Path Analysis" (Hye-ryeon Lee, Kristie A. Taylor and Stacey Nofziger); "Smoking in the News: Intermedia Agenda-Setting and the Anti-Tobacco Advertising Campaign" (Stacie Lee Greene); "What the Real World Really Wants: An Analysis of Advertising Employment Ads" (Sally J. McMillan, Kim Bartel Sheehan, Brandt Heinemann and Charles Frazer); "Effective Communication of Brand Extensions" (Jooyoung Kim); "J. Peterman and 'Seinfeld': Why a Promotional Success Was a Marketing Failure" (Richard D. Parker and James A. Karrh); "Slinging Mud: The Effectiveness of Attack and Response in Negative Political Advertising" (Sung Wook Shim); "Underwriting the War Effort: The Advertising Council Organizes the Advertising Industry, 1942-1945" (Inger L. Stole); "The Effectiveness of Comparative Advertising among Koreans: Is It Effective to Increase the Intensity of Comparison over Time?" (Jang-Sun Hwang and Mariea Grubbs Hoy); and "The Effects of Ethnic Identification on Multicultural Adolescents' Evaluations of Ads" (Osei Appiah). (RS)

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The Effectiveness of Banner Advertisements: Involvement and Click-through

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Abstract

This paper explores the relationship between consumer's level of involvement and clicking of banner ads on the WWW. This study indicates that people in high-involvement situations are more likely to click a banner ad in order to request more information than those in low-involvement situations. Meanwhile, it is found that people in low-involvement situations are more likely to click a banner ad when it has a large size and dynamic animation. However, the size and the animation of the banner ad do not influence people's clicking of banner ads for people in high-involvement situations. This study measured a real click-through rate with the aid of online data collection technology called Cold Fusion.

Introduction

The Internet is one of the fastest-growing media in terms of its users. NUA Internet surveys estimate that 275 million people use the Internet worldwide as of February 2000 (URL: http://www.nua.ie/surveys/how_many_online/). Along with this explosive growth of Internet users in the world, Internet advertising is also experiencing the exponential growth, with $3 billion spent online in 1999 and $8 billion projected to be spent online advertising by the year 2002 (Jupiter Communication 2000, at URL: http://www.jup.com).

The Internet has several distinguishing characteristics such as interactivity, irrelevance of distance and time, low set-up costs, targeting, global coverage, and ease of entry (Berthon et al. 1996; Zeff and Aronson 1999). Among these characteristics, interactivity is considered to be the key advantage of the medium (Rafaeli and Sudweeks 1997; Morris and Ogan 1996; Pavlik 1996). Even though the concept of interactivity has a long history, the Internet revivifies the discussion of interactivity because of its explosive growth since mid 1990s. There are many different ways of defining interactivity in the Internet (Flaherty 1985; Cook 1994; Rice 1984; Steuer 1992; Williams et al. 1988; Ariely 1998; Ha and James 1998). In addition, many different consumer activities can be classified as interactivity on the WWW (e.g., clicking, providing feedback, searching, etc.).

There are many different forms of advertising on the Web: e.g., banners, buttons, text links, sponsorships, target sites, interstitials, and more. Banner advertisements on the WWW began in October 1994, when AT&T first advertised on HotWired.com (Zeff and Aronson 1999). Since then, banners have dominated advertising on the WWW and have become the standard advertising format on the Web (Meland 2000). Even though there are other ways of finding out and arriving at target sites on the WWW, the banner advertisement click-through is believed to be the most common way to draw consumers into the target sites and thus engage them with a brand or product (Cho and Leckenby 1999). Accordingly, measuring advertisement banner click-through rates has already become important both for the advertiser and the Web site. In addition, the pricing method of online advertising is moving toward being based in click-through rates (Zeff and Aronson 1999; MediaPost 2000), and it is relatively easy to measure click-through rates with the aid of innovative technology. There are many known and unknown factors influencing people's clicking behaviors. Among these factors, this paper will focus on the effects of level of involvement on people's clicking behaviors.

How People Process Advertising on the WWW

Many researchers have formulated different models of the stages, routes or hierarchy consumers go through when they are exposed to advertising messages (Krugman 1965; Ray, Sawyer, Rothschild, Heeler, Strong and Reed 1973; Houston and Rothschild 1978; Petty and Cacioppo 1981; 1983; 1986). These models are called hierarchy-of-effects models or how-advertising-works models. Traditional hierarchy-of-effects models assume that the first stage of the persuasion process is awareness through advertising exposure (Lavidge and Steinger 1961; Barry 1987; Preston 1982). In other words, the bottom line of advertising is to be noticed or advertising exposure (Lavidge and Steinger 1961; Barry 1987; Preston 1982). Here, advertising exposure is involuntary because individuals incidentally just happen to come across an ad in traditional media.

Meanwhile, advertising exposure in the Internet can be either involuntary or voluntary (Cho 1998). There are two current dominant forms of Web advertising: 1) the banner ad and 2) the target ad or linked site from the banner ad (Hoffman, Novak and Chatterjee 1995; Hoffman and Novak 1996a; 1996b). Depending on these two types of Web advertising, there are two different types of advertising exposure on the WWW: 1) involuntary exposure to the banner ad and 2) voluntary exposure to the target ad. When consumers just come across a banner ad incidentally, it is called involuntary exposure to the banner ad. During this involuntary exposure to banner ads, consumers have two choices—clicking the banners or not. If consumers click the banner ads to see the content of target ads, this is called voluntary exposure to target ads (Cho 1999).

Voluntary Exposure to the Target Ad (Clicking the Banner Ad)

Clicking banners is a voluntary action for the purpose of seeing more detailed advertising messages by requesting more information. This voluntary exposure to advertising messages appears to be highly dependent on consumers' level of personal and product involvement. There exists extensive literature pertaining to various types of involvement in advertising research: personal relevance (Zaichkowsky 1985), elaboration (Petty and Cacioppo 1981); staged process (Ray, Sawyer, Rothschild, Heeler, Strong and Reed 1973; Greenwald and Leavitt 1984); Bridging connections (Krugman 1965), personal/internal state (Mitchell 1979; Cohen 1983; Andrews, Durvasula and Akhter 1990), cognitive and affective involvement (Park and Young 1983); involvement with the product--situational and/or enduring involvement (Houston and Rothschild 1978; Celsi and Olson 1988; Laurent and Kapferer 1985; Richins and Bloch 1986).

1) High Involvement

The literature on involvement with the product suggests that when consumers are highly involved with a product, they tend to be very receptive to most information related to that product and thus pay more attention to ads for information (Bloch, Sherrell and Ridgway 1986; Houston 1979; Lehmann 1977). Likewise, consumers are more likely to conduct greater information search to obtain knowledge when they are highly involved with the product (Hirschman and Wallendorf 1982; Beatty and Smith 1987; Zaichkowsky 1985).

Applying this to Web advertising, in high involvement situations, consumers are more likely to request more information by clicking banners in order to see detailed ad content than are consumers in low-involvement situations. Based on this rationale, the following hypothesis can be postulated:

H1: People in high-involvement situations are more likely to click a banner ad than are those in low-involvement situations.

2) Low Involvement

There exist many research studies on the interaction effect of level of involvement and various advertiser-controlled stimuli on advertising effectiveness: e.g., fear appeal (Tanner, Hunt and Eppright 1991), conclusion-drawing (Kardes 1988), comparison (Gotlieb and Sarel 1991), message repetition (Schumann, Petty and Clemans 1990), central and peripheral (Petty and Cacioppo 1983), and more. According to Petty and Cacioppo's Elaboration Likelihood Model (1983), consumers in low-involvement situations have low elaboration to process advertising messages and thus engage in the peripheral route to persuasion, while consumers in high-involvement situations have high elaboration and engage in central-route processing. In other words, when consumers are not highly motivated to process further ad content, they do not want to engage in message-related thinking; rather they are more likely to focus on available peripheral cues (Petty and Cacioppo 1986).

Applying this to Web advertising, consumers are less likely to request more information, i.e., less likely to click banners to see more detailed information when they are in low-involvement situations. However, they follow another route to clicking banners--the peripheral route to voluntary exposure. According to Petty and Cacioppo (1983), when consumers are not highly motivated to process further ad content, they do not want to engage in message-related thinking; rather they are more likely to focus on available peripheral cues. Applying this to Web advertising, it can be inferred that the favorability of peripheral cues may influence clickability of banner ads in low-involvement situations. In the case of banner ads, attention-getting or curiosity-generating peripheral cues would be novelty- or contrast-related components of banner ads, such as 1) large-sized banner, 2) bright colors, and 3) attention-getting animation.

There have been extensive literature on the effects of advertising design factors on consumer processing of advertising messages: for example, picture size (Rossiter and Percy 1980; Hendon 1973; Holbrook and Lehmann 1980), commercial length (Rethans, Swasy and Marks 1986), number of exposure (Nickerson 1968; Robinson 1969), and so on. Among these factors, the size of the stimulus is believed to one of important factors that can affect attention. Obviously, larger ads are more likely to be noticed than smaller ones. According to Rossiter and Percy (1980), the increase in attention is in proportion to the square root of the increase in space. Therefore, a larger banner ad should work as a better peripheral cue to draw low-involved people's attention than will a smaller banner ad. Similarly, dynamic animation on banner ads will also work as a good peripheral cue to draw low-involved people's attention. This reasoning leads to the following two hypotheses

H2.1: In low-involvement situations, people are more likely to click a banner ad when it has a larger size than average banner ads.

H2.2: In low-involvement situations, people are more likely to click a banner ad when it has dynamic animation than when it has no dynamic animation.

However, in high-involvement situations, the size and animation of banner ads do not make any difference in the clicking of banner ads.

H2.3: In high-involvement situations, the size of banner ads makes no difference in clicking of banner ads.

H2.4: In high-involvement situations, dynamic animation makes no difference in clicking of banner ads.

Methodology

This study employed a between group experimental design. According to Preston (1985), the perfect advertising effectiveness measure should be related to the actual behavior. Following this suggestion, this study measured the real click-through rates of banner ads, which is a measure of actual clicking behavior. The survey was conducted online using Web database technology called Cold Fusion, where responses on each survey item including click-through were automatically transmitted to a Microsoft Access database file located at the server.

Sample Banner Ads and Homepages

According to Mitchell (1986), professionally developed ads rather than mock ads are encouraged to be used in experimental research in order to elicit a more natural response from the subjects. Following this suggestion, professionally developed Web sites and banner ads were used in this study.

A total of six banner ads were used, two different versions for each of three products. This study had two subject groups. Each experimental group was exposed to a set of three banner ads. Three banner ads were selected, based on the four popular product categories of Web advertising, which included financial services, consumer brands, retailers, and travel-related products (WebTrack 1998). All available banner ads for these four product categories were collected from the three most popular search engines on the WWW, i.e., Yahoo, Infoseek, and Excite, and then three banner ads were randomly selected using simple random sampling. These three banner ads included the American Express Card (financial services), Kodak film (consumer brands), and American Airlines (travel-related products).

Each banner ad was placed at the top of either Infoseek (http://www.infoseek.com). Two banner ads for the same product were linked to the same target ad (linked site from the banner ad). Table 1 summarizes the three experimental banner ads for each experimental group.

There were two different versions of American Express banner ads that conveyed different messages. The same American Airlines banner ad with two different sizes were used for different experimental groups: i.e., the larger (468 by 60 pixels) banner was just a blow-up of the smaller (390 by 50 pixels) one. The same Kodak banner ad also had two variations: i.e., the static banner had only one image frame which individual texts and images were dumped into while the animated banner showed 3 individual frames one by one. A different version of online questionnaire was assigned to each subject group, based on its experimental materials.

Sampling

An electronic recruiting message for the survey was distributed via postings in various discussion LISTSERV lists. The LISTSERV lists were selected from *CataList*, the catalog of LISTSERV lists (URL: http://www.lsoft.com/catalist.html). This Web site provided 21,003 public LISTSERV lists on the Internet at the point of the study, 1999. Among these LISTSERV lists, education- , Internet-, advertising-, and marketing-related LISTSERV lists were selected at the researchers' discretion (the researchers believed that the discussion subjects of these LISTSERVs were relevant to the current study). The study had a total of 817 participants (409 for the 1st experimental group and 408 for the 2nd experimental gorup). To recruit these 817 subjects, the researchers posted recruiting messages on a total of 165 LISTSERV lists. For the purpose of increasing the response rate of the survey, the researchers provided a small financial incentive in the form of a sweepstake for the survey participants. A monetary incentive of $100 was given to each of 10 randomly selected survey participants.

Procedure

The online survey consisted of three parts. In Part I, each subject's level of involvement with three product categories was measured as a pre-banner-exposure measure. In Part II, each subject was exposed to the three experimental stimuli. First, each subject was exposed to the very first banner ad and homepage (the American Express banner ad located at the top of the *Infoseek* site). Here, all hyperlinks were made dead at this point so that the subject could not click any hyperlinks. Then, each subject was asked first whether he/she was exposed to the banner ad previously or not. This was to control previous exposure to the banner ad. If the subject was previously exposed to the banner ad, he/she was asked to move on to the next section (the second experimental stimulus). Only the subject without previous exposure to the banner ad confronted two options: clicking the banner ad or not. If the subject clicked the banner ad, he/she was exposed to the linked target ad. Each subject followed the same procedure for the remaining two experimental stimuli.

After completing Part II, each subject was asked to continue with Part III of the online questionnaire, which asked several questions about his/her demographic information, i.e., gender, age, occupation, the purpose for Internet surfing, and average surfing hours. The participation for each subject took approximately 15 minutes.

Results

This study used a between-group experimental design. To eliminate the possibility that subjects in two groups are different enough to influence the effects of the treatment, the researchers compared the groups in terms of their demographic and Internet usage. The two groups (experiment and control group) were very similar in terms of age, gender, Internet-surfing hours, and the purpose for surfing the Internet. Table 2 shows the results of a series of t-tests and chi-squares to compare the two groups. Table 3 shows individual scale items used to measure level of involvement and reliability coefficient for the involvement measures. The Cronbach's alpha coefficient was .87, above the accepted level (.70).

Hypotheses Testing

The first hypothesis states that people in high-involvement situations are more likely to click banner ads than those in low-involvement situations. Chi-Square tests were conducted to check the relationship between the level of product involvement and clicking of banner ads.

Table 4 and 5 shows the relationship between the level of product involvement and the clicking of each banner ad. The click-through rate for high-involvement people was significantly higher than that for low-involvement people for two product categories (20.6% vs. 10.3% for American Express Card Banner ads, and 28.0% vs. 20.3% for Kodak Film banner ads). The results were statistically significant ($p \leq .01$). However, as shown in Table 6, for American Airlines banner ads, there was no significant difference in click-through rates between high and low involvement people (15.3% vs. 14.9%) ($p > .01$). Therefore, H1 is partly supported.

The second set of hypotheses states that in low-involvement situations, people are more likely to click a banner ad when it has a larger size (H2.1) and animation (H2.2), while there is no effect of size and animation on banner clicking for high involvement people (H2.3 and H2.4). Chi-Square tests were conducted to check the relationship between the size / animation of the banner ad and click-through. Table 7 and 8 show the relationship between the size of the banner ad and banner clicking. As shown in Table 7, in low involvement situations, the click-through rate for the large American Airline banner ad (21.4%) was significantly higher than that for the small banner ad (9.3%). The results were statistically significant ($p \leq .01$). However, as shown in Table 8, for high involvement people, there was no significant difference in click-through rates between large and small banner ads (16.7% vs. 13.9%) ($p > .01$). Therefore, both H2.1 and H2.3 are supported.

Table 9 and 10 show the relationship between the animation of the banner ad and banner clicking. As shown in Table 9, in low involvement situations, the click-through rate for the animated Kodak Film banner ad (25.0%) was significantly higher than that for the static banner ad (15.8%). The results were statistically significant ($p \leq .05$). However, Table 10 indicates that for high involvement people, there was no significant difference in click-through rates between animated and static banner ads (29.1% vs. 27.0%) ($p > .05$). Therefore, both H2.2 and H2.4 are supported.

Other Interesting Findings

A simple correlation analysis was conducted to find the relationship between the average number of hours surfing the Internet of the respondents and the number of banner clicking. This analysis is conducted to check the assumption that people who surf the Internet more are less likely to click banner ads because they are tired of, or less curious about, the banner ads. The result is not in the direction of supporting this assumption because there was no correlation between the two variables ($r = .003$) ($p > .05$). Table 11 shows the relationship between the purpose for surfing the Internet and the average number of hours surfing the Internet per week. It shows that those who surf the Net for the purpose of entertainment spend more time surfing the Net ($M = 16.3$ hours per week) than those who surf the Net for information search ($M = 11.6$ hours per week). The result was statistically significant ($t=3.49^*$, $p \leq .05$).

Discussion

Summary and Implications

The current study has its unique contribution at illustrating the usefulness of existing advertising theories in understanding how consumer process a new advertising form, Web advertisements. The current study explores how level of involvement influences people's clicking behavior. As predicted in H1, it was found that people in high-involvement situations were more likely to click banner ads in order to request more information than those in low-involvement situations. The implication of this finding is that advertisers can focus on people's level of product involvement when identifying target audiences for their Web advertising campaigns.

It was found that people in low-involvement situations were more likely to click large banner ads than small banner ads (H2.1), and animated banner ads than static banner ads (H2.2). However, the size and the animation of banner ads did not influence people's clicking of banner ads for people in high-involvement situations (H2.3 and H2.4). These results provide an important managerial and strategic implication for advertising practitioners, i.e., creative strategies focusing on "fat" or soft facts will be effective to make low-involvement people click on banner ads in the purpose of attracting and getting them more involved with the products. However, the current study did not look at the effects of hard facts or message arguments in banner ads. Hence, as a future research, it would be valuable to study the effectiveness of hard facts or message arguments on clickability of banner ads for high-involvement people.

Limitations and Suggestions for Future Research

A weakness of this study is that the samples are not representative of the general Internet users, since they were drawn from the pool of people who subscribed to discussion LISTSERVs. It is believed that people who subscribe to discussion LISTSERVs tend to be more active and heavier users of the Internet than do general Internet users. This can be a good explanation for the reason the average click-through rate of the two banner ads used in this study (18.3 %) is significantly higher than the average industry click-through rate (2.0 %). Therefore, it would be valuable to replicate the current study with the samples drawn from general Internet users other than LISTSERV subscribers.

Another explanation for these relatively high click-through rates of the sample banner ads used in this study would be that the sample banner ads were selected based on the four most popular product categories of Web advertising. In other words, we may say that the sample banner ads yielded higher click-through rates than the industry average because their product categories are very popular on the WWW. Moreover, a relatively small number of sample materials were used in this study, i.e., six banner ads. Therefore, it would be valuable to replicate the current study with an increased number of banner ads for more diverse product categories.

Another significant weakness of the current study is its creation of an artificial surfing environment because of its inherent experimental effects. The artificial setting, which limits external generalizability, means that subjects could not click any hyperlink within a web site other than clicking a banner ad. Thus, there was less chance for them to consider and interact with the web site, which would be the activity they would be engaged in the real world. This artificial setting was necessary to keep the study manageable and to confine the online survey to 15 to 20 minutes. In short, remedying the above weaknesses, it would be valuable to conduct the experiment in a more natural setting using more representative subjects, general Internet users.

Table 1
Experimental Stimuli (Banner Ads and Homepages)
for Each Experimental Group

1st Experimental Group	2nd Experimental Group
1. American Express banner ad #1 on Infoseek site	1. American Express banner ad #2 on Infoseek site
2. Small American Airlines banner ad on Infoseek site	2. Large American Airlines banner ad on Infoseek site
3. Static Kodak banner ad on Infoseek	3. Animated Kodak banner ad on Infoseek

Table 2
The comparison of two experimental groups

Variables	Group I (n=409)	Group II (n=408)	Statistical tests
Age	35.2	34.2	t-value = 1.12
Gender (female/male)	198 / 149	182 / 157	$X^2 = .79$
Average surfing hours per week	11.9	11.3	t-value = 1.27

$p > .05$

Table 3
Scales and Reliability Coefficient of Involvement Measures

Scale Items	Cronbach's alpha coefficients
Involvement (e.g., credit cards)	.87
I am interested in credit cards in general.	
Credit cards are important to me.	
I get involved with credit cards.	
Credit cards are relevant to me.	
I am going to use or apply for a credit card in the next six months.	

Note: All items were measured on 5-point Likert scales with anchors of "strongly disagree (1)" and "strongly agree (5)."

Table 4
The relationship between level of credit card involvement
and clicking of American Express banner ad

		Low Credit Card Involvement	**High Credit Card Involvement**
No Click	Frequency	210	398
	Row percentage	34.5%	65.5%
	Column percentage	89.7%	79.4%
Click	Frequency	**24**	**103**
	Low percentage	18.9%	81.1%
	Column percentage	10.3%	20.6%

Chi-Square = 11.84**, d.f. = 1, $p \leq .01$

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Table 5
The relationship between level of camera film involvement and clicking of Kodak banner ad

		Low Camera Film Involvement	High Camera Film Involvement
No Click	Frequency	239	303
	Row percentage	44.1%	55.9%
	Column percentage	79.7%	72.0%
Click	Frequency	61	118
	Row percentage	34.1%	65.9%
	Column percentage	20.3%	28.0%

Chi-Square = 5.56*, d.f. = 1, $p \le .05$

Table 6
The relationship between level of airlines involvement and clicking of American Airlines banner ad

		Low Airline Involvement	High Airline Involvement
No Click	Frequency	205	414
	Row percentage	33.1%	66.9%
	Column percentage	85.1%	84.7%
Click	Frequency	36	75
	Row percentage	32.4%	67.6%
	Column percentage	14.9%	15.3%

Chi-Square = .02, d.f. = 1, $p > .05$

Table 7
The relationship between the size of a banner ad and clicking of the banner ad for low-involvement people

		Group I Small American Airlines Banner Ad	Group II Large American Airlines Banner Ad
No Click	Frequency	117	88
	Row percentage	57.1%	42.9%
	Column percentage	90.7%	78.6%
Click	Frequency	12	24
	Row percentage	33.3%	66.7%
	Column percentage	9.3%	21.4%

Chi-Square = 6.94**, d.f. = 1, $p \le .01$

Table 8
The relationship between the size of a banner ad and clicking of the banner ad for high-involvement people

		Group I Small American Airlines Banner Ad	Group II Large American Airlines Banner Ad
No Click	Frequency	210	204
	Row percentage	50.7%	49.3%
	Column percentage	86.1%	83.3%
Click	Frequency	34	41
	Row percentage	45.3%	54.7%
	Column percentage	13.9%	16.7%

Chi-Square = .74, d.f. = 1, $p > .05$

Table 9
The relationship between the animation of a banner ad and clicking of the banner ad for low-involvement people

		Group I Static Kodak Banner Ad	Group II Animated Kodak Banner Ad
No Click	Frequency	128	111
	Row percentage	53.6%	46.4%
	Column percentage	84.2%	75.0%
Click	Frequency	**24**	**37**
	Row percentage	39.3%	60.7%
	Column percentage	15.8%	25.0%

Chi-Square = 3.93*, d.f. = 1, $p \leq .05$

Table 10
The relationship between the animation of a banner ad and clicking of the banner ad for high-involvement people

		Group I Static Kodak Banner Ad	Group II Animated Kodak Banner Ad
No Click	Frequency	157	146
	Row percentage	51.8%	48.2%
	Column percentage	73.0%	70.9%
Click	Frequency	58	60
	Row percentage	49.2%	50.8%
	Column percentage	27.0%	29.1%

Chi-Square = .24, d.f. = 1, $p > .05$

Table 11
The relationship between the purpose for surfing the Internet and time spend surfing the Internet

Purpose of surfing the Internet	Number of Cases	Average surfing hours per week Mean (Std. dev.)	t-value
Information purpose	443	11.6 (9.0)	**3.49****
Entertainment purpose	76	16.3 (9.5)	

$p \leq .01$**

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Running head: BREAST CANCER IN WOMEN OF COLOR

MESSAGES OF HOPE:
Developing health campaigns that address misperceptions of breast cancer held by women of color

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Abstract

According to the National Cancer Institute, breast cancer is the leading cause of cancer deaths among black women. Medical literature identifies two reasons for the high mortality rates for Black women: detection of the disease in its advance stages and/or myths, misperceptions, and fears concerning the causes of and prognosis related to breast cancer. Ninety-two African-American females ranging in age from 20 to 77 were surveyed to determine the beliefs and perceptions held about breast cancer. Data revealed that black women in this study hold misperceptions of breast cancer, perceptions that involve images of death, feelings of fear, unrealistic physical impairments that result from breast cancer. Results of the study are discussed along with the implications for public policy, health communication campaigns, and theoretical development and/or understanding of media effects.

MESSAGES OF HOPE:

Developing health campaigns that address misperceptions of breast cancer held by women of color

Although black women are less likely to develop breast cancer than white women, when they do develop cancer, it has been said that the survival rate for black women is approximately 43% (Cancer Statistics for African Americans, 1996; ElTamer, Homel, & Wait, 1999; Komen Breast Cancer Foundation, 1999; Lipkus, Iden, Terrenoire, & Feaganes, 1999; National Cancer Institute, 1996). For white women the five-year survival rate is approximately 90% (American Cancer Society, 2000). According to the American Cancer Society (1999), one out of every eight women in American gets breast cancer today. And, information obtained from the American Cancer Society shows that mortality in blacks was 16% higher than whites. Evidence on mortality rates reports that between 1989 and 1993, breast cancer mortality for white women decreased by 6%, but increased by 3% for black women. Recent reports further suggest that much of the difference in breast cancer survival between African-Americans and whites could be reduced through use of screening and other preventative strategies taken by African-American women.

STUDY OBJECTIVES AND IMPLICATIONS

It seems reasonable to speculate that social, cultural and other factors might play a huge role in the difference in breast cancer survival rates. The purpose of the present research is to ascertain beliefs and other perceptions held by black women that may explain why late detection and other unhealthy behaviors are being maintained. Results from the present research can be used to show how advertisers, those who sponsor, buy, create, produce, and sell advertisements, might use the data to a) include images of black women in current breast cancer ad campaigns, and to b) write messages that encourage healthy behaviors such as early prevention and screenings.

Wallack (1989) argues that most media health campaigns are based on providing audiences with an understanding of the health problem. Health educators, according to research, use media to encourage and stimulate changes in health-related attitudes and behaviors. Campaigns that focus on providing information try to arm consumers with information that empowers them to willfully select "healthier" behaviors and/or lifestyles. Health experts confirm this notion: "medical empowerment is said to be one of the best defenses available" (Johnson, 1998).

However, as Wallack (1989) has noted, this approach to effective campaign planning does little to address other variables that relate or cause unhealthy behaviors such as avoidance of mammography or early breast cancer detection. The present study will use data obtained from a sample of African American women to discuss tactics that might be used to clear up and address any misperceptions or identify beliefs held about the risks associated with breast cancer.

Data collected by the National Cancer Institute (1996) suggests that black women have higher death rates from breast cancer than whites in large part because of cultural differences that simply delay them from seeking treatment. Unfortunately, there has been very little research exploring the relationships among perceptions of, and concern about getting breast cancer and interest in testing for breast cancer among African American women. The present research explores these issues by examining and analyzing the thoughts and feelings about breast cancer held by African American women.

For review, the questions guiding the research reported in the present paper are:

1. What do African-American females think about breast cancer? And, do they hold a "true" or factual understanding of what breast cancer is? (i.e., its causes, cure, and other important facts about cancer)
2. Are there other "unhealthy" misperceptions or ideas about breast cancer that might lead to avoidance of regular breast cancer screenings?

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

Studies suggest that poor survival rates for African American women diagnosed with breast cancer may be positively related to the when the disease is diagnosed (i.e. stage of development). "Black women often do [not] get treatment early enough," according to DeWyze (1998). In fact, studies suggest that in order for the death rate to change (or, in other words, for African American women to survive) efforts must be made by the medical industry, mass media, and other promotional efforts need to focus on creating messages that motivate African American women to conduct examinations earlier and to seek medical assistance so that the disease might be detected at an earlier stage (El-Tamer, et al, 1999). Messages, research suggest, need to address "how African-American women might overcome the barriers that keep them from responding to the breast cancer threat" (DeWyze, 1998, p. 1).

In a study conducted by Frisby and Chang (2000), found that most of the ads for breast cancer in African American magazines like *Ebony*, and *Essence* focused on raising money for breast cancer foundations and not on promoting health knowledge about breast cancer prevention. In addition, these researchers discovered that this effect was heightened: Not one about breast cancer, prevention, or risks was found in recent issues of *Essence* during breast cancer awareness month. This finding leads to the first research question:

RQ1: What perceptions do black women hold about breast cancer and the chances of survival?

Cultural Beliefs

Research on African American women and the higher death rates suggests that cultural-based beliefs about the causes of cancer are what keep some black women from seeking medical treatment and tests for breast cancer. While studies have shown that socioeconomic factors such as income and social status may account for half of the cancer-related deaths in white women, current research has shown that attitudes and beliefs about causes of cancer are commonplace among some African-American women (Johnson, 1998). "It seems likely that the attitudes and beliefs identified are fairly widespread through the southeastern United States" (Lipkus, 1999). It is possible to speculate that black women are more likely to have been brought up with misinformation about breast cancer and its treatment: misinformation that gets passed down from their mothers and grandmothers. In any event, this finding suggests that it is not only important for doctors to be aware of these cultural beliefs and attitudes, but advertisers also need to be aware of these beliefs in order to create advertising messages, campaigns, and appeals that speak to these beliefs.

In a recent study on the perceptions black women have concerning breast cancer, analysis of the data show that black women believe that exposure to "air" causes cancer to grow (MSNBC, 1999). Moreover, data obtained in this study show that more black women as compared to white women believe that "worry" or anxieties worsen their (or cause) cancer, that God and prayers will heal them of the cancer without a reliance on medical treatments or doctors, and/or that the devil caused the cancer. Additionally, it is possible to speculate that the lack of ads in black magazines about breast cancer (see Frisby and Chang) and due to the preponderance of breast cancer ads containing white images, this "imbalance" in media portrayals might lead black women to disassociate breast cancer with themselves and believe that it is a "white woman's" disease.

A recent study on race and differences in breast cancer survival shows that African-American women, when they finally seek treatment, tend to be diagnosed at a later stage than Caucasian women who also had been diagnosed with breast cancer. In other words, African Americans with breast cancer face more than twice the risk of dying compared with white women, primarily because they are diagnosed at more advanced stages of the disease. According to the American Cancer Society, black Americans may be more likely to suffer from cancer for a variety of reasons, including the fact that their cancers are generally diagnosed at a later stage than whites and so are more difficult to treat. Thus, it is believed that preventative measures can be taken to lower the changes of developing breast cancer. The American Cancer Society recommends a three-step plan for early detection that includes: monthly breast self-exams, an annual check up by a doctor or trained nurse, a mammography according to age and recommendation by a doctor.

> RQ2: Will African American correctly identify regular cancer screenings and mammography, as major preventative measures against breast cancer?

Factors Affecting Cancer And Mortality Among African Americans

A *risk factor* is anything that increases a person's chance of getting a particular disease. Different cancers are associated with different risk factors. Risk factors associated with breast cancer are: age, genetic factors (or heredity), poverty, diet and nutrition, and lifestyle (Komen Breast Cancer Foundation, 1999).

Age: Research shows, however, that the major risk factor associated with the development of breast cancer is age (National Cancer Institute, 1996). For instance, in 1996, the National Cancer Society found that more than 77% of the women diagnosed with breast cancer are over age 50 at the time of diagnosis, while women aged 20 - 29 account for only 35% of most breast cancer cases.

Hereditary: Other more recent studies have shown that about 10% of the breast cancer cases are hereditary (Komen Breast Cancer Foundation, 1999). Medical research has discovered the risk for breast cancer is higher among women whose close blood relatives have been diagnosed with the disease. Having a mother, sister, or daughter with breast cancer approximately doubles a woman's risk (National Cancer Institute, 1996).

Lifestyle: Lifestyle or health related behaviors such as self-examinations, diet and exercise, research suggests, may also play a role in the relationship among black women and breast cancer prognoses and mortality rates. Data obtained from the American Cancer Society suggest that early detection of cancer can improve the chances that breast cancer can be treated successfully. In fact, lifestyle may significantly affect success rates. Research suggests that for women between the ages of 20 - 55 who perform breast self-examinations on a regularly basis not only get to know their breasts, but can more readily detect changes and as a result, might play a role in early prevention and treatment.

Exercise: Exercise and its relationship to breast cancer is a relatively new area of research (American Cancer Society, 1999). Recent studies indicate that strenuous exercise in youth provides life-long protection against breast cancer, and that even moderate physical activity as an adult lowers breast cancer risk.

Social status: In a series of studies of breast cancer screening and associated factors, (see for example El-Tamer, et al., 1999; Lipkus et al, 1999; National Cancer Institute, 1996) research suggests that 90% of low-income African American women are not getting regular mammography screenings. Moreover, statistics show that 36% of the women who are low in income or suffering from poverty had never heard of but never had a mammography, while 33% had not even heard the word "mammography."

Research conducted by the American Cancer Society (1996) lends support to the notion that people from more deprived communities are less likely to seek medical care because they may not have health insurance or are not able to afford the cost of traveling to a medical doctor. Because African Americans are disproportionately represented among the nation's poor, this may explain why they are at an increased risk of cancer incidence and mortality.

RQ3: What percentage of African American women can and will correctly identify breast cancer causes and risk factors?

Review Research Questions

The present study is concerned identifying the perceptions and thoughts held by black women. The research objective and main concern is to identify (if) myths are held and determine how health communication campaigns can target black women, dispel the myths held, and ultimately break down any and all misperceptions about the causes of cancer or anxieties about breast cancer, early prevention of and screening for the disease. Thus, using data obtained from the present study, campaign planners and spokespeople for breast cancer might have the information that will allow them to better target and craft messages toward African American women (i.e., you can survive or beat the odds).

It is presumed that some African American women may resist treatment or lack motivation to seek early detection because of certain misperceptions held concerning the breast cancer disease (i.e., holding attributions or beliefs that cancer means death, extreme fears and other negative perceptions about the disease). Thus the study will answer the following questions:

RQ 1: What do African-American females think about breast cancer? And, do they hold a "true" or factual understanding of what breast cancer is? (i.e., its causes, cure, and other important facts about cancer)

RQ 2: Are there other "unhealthy" misperceptions or ideas about breast cancer that might lead to avoidance of regular breast cancer screenings?

RQ 3: What percentage of African American women can and will correctly identify breast cancer causes and risk factors?

METHOD

Participants

Self-administered surveys were distributed to convenience sample of African American respondents, both college and non-college attendees from a Northeastern metropolitan area. Usable surveys were returned from a total of 92 respondents.

In addition to general demographic information, respondents were asked to provide information in four main areas. First they indicated how strongly they identified with their other members of their race, gender, and age group; second, they were asked to list any and all thoughts they had about breast cancer. Next, respondents were asked to respond to this question, "When I think about breast cancer, I think of." Females were asked to identify any and all thoughts they have about breast cancer, its causes, and survival.

Next, respondents were asked to identify if and when they had a mammography. After responding to this question, respondents identified how often they go to the doctor, and of their desire to stay healthy and fit along with perceptions of their health.

As a final measure, respondents were asked to imagine that they could talk to a mass communicator and provide advice on the best type of ad that would encourage others to engage in healthier behaviors about breast cancer what would they say. The Human Subjects Committee of the Institutional Review Board at a large midwestern university approved the study. Five-point Likert type scales were used for the questions regarding age group, racial, and gender identity.

Operationalizations and Measurement of Concepts

Background variables: To determine preventative behaviors, respondents were asked to identify how long it had been since a mammography and/or self-examination was performed (1 = within the last 6 months, 2 = 6 – 12 months; 3 = 12 – 18 months; 4 = 2 – 3 years ago; 5 = 4 years and longer). Respondents were also asked to respond to the following questions: "how important is health to you" (1 = very important, 5 very unimportant); how much they like going to the doctor (1 = extreme dislike 5 = extreme like) and how determined they are to stay healthy (1 = very determined, 5 = not very determined at all).

Operational Definitions

The questionnaire contained two open-ended items. The first measure asked respondents to take a few minutes to jot down words images or thoughts that come to mind, while the other item asked respondents to provide strategies they felt would be effective to encourage other women to seek early detection of breast cancer. In order to content analyze the thoughts and ideas listed for these two open-ended items, a coding procedure was established.

For each category, coders were instructed to place a 1 (the thought occurred) in the appropriate category. The categories coded were thoughts that related to: a) death, b) fear of finding out, c) physical ailments or problems as a result of caner (i.e., losing a breast, loss of hair, getting sick, pain, etc), d) thoughts of a loved one diagnosed with cancer, e) correct identification of the causes of cancer as mentioned earlier, f) thoughts related to prevention or a need for screening and mammography, g) thoughts of survival or that breast cancer is treatable, h) spiritual beliefs or thoughts related to prayer or the idea that "God will heal," and I) a category for all other thoughts. Coders also coded the total number of thoughts listed by each respondent.

If a participant's first thought related to thoughts of "instant" death or if they simply mentioned death, coders were instructed to place a "1" (positive instance of the thought) in the "death" column for that category and a "2" (thought did not occur) in categorical columns if and when there was no mention of death on the survey. This procedure was repeated for each participant and each thought.

A content analysis of the thoughts examines actual thoughts and feelings held by black women about breast cancer. This data will determine whether black women actually hold misinformation and feelings about breast cancer and its treatment.

Coding Procedures

Training: Each coder was trained independently, coding a small, sample of questionnaires. Responses from each coder were examined to determine and evaluate operationalizations of category definitions, appropriateness of categories, relationship of theory and coding categories, and measurement instruments. Initially, three coders were used to determine reliability and validity of the coding categories. This procedure also provided an opportunity for the principal investigator to evaluate the appropriateness of the theory and coding categories. It also allowed the investigator to determine how coders were and should be trained.

Coders worked independently to code and record their observations of the respondent's thoughts. Reliability in the coding was evidenced by the extent to which the coders independently assigned the same code to the same category. Percentage agreement figures for all reported categories were in excess of the 80% agreement standard recommended for content analysis of nominal data.

Data Analysis and Procedure

Coders examined the thoughts on the basis of the operational definitions and assigned appropriate codes. The thought was then analyzed and coded based on the type of thought the person had. A code was also assigned for this variable and so on. After all the data were entered, SPSS was used to count the number of occurrences of each dimension within each category.

Categories were mutually exclusive because thoughts and responses to an image could only be placed into one and only one dimension. In cases where thoughts were given more than one code, categories were separated into smaller, mutually exclusive categories.

Results

Sample

Data was obtained from 92 black females residing in a large northeastern metropolitan city. The age ranged from 20 to 77 (M= 43.9, S. D. = 13.21). The average number of thoughts obtained from the sample was 3. 84, S. D. = 1.7). Of the 91 black females, 41% (n = 37) stated that they had seen a doctor to have a mammography within the last 6 – 12 months while 54% (n= 50) had not had a mammography in 2 or more years. And, 32% of the sample stated that they did not like going to the doctor nor had they been to see their doctor in the last year.

Intercoder Reliability

The principal investigator and two research assistants functioned as coders for this study. One coder coded all responses and the other two coders conducted a partial coding and coded the fifty responses. Reliability was calculated using a macro language downloaded from SPSS web site, which is based on kappa coefficient of agreement for multi-coders (Siegel & Castellan, 1988). Overall reliability was 88%, with most of the individual reliabilities coming in at .90 or higher.

Data Analyses

Do African American Females hold misperceptions about breast cancer? What types of thoughts are held about breast cancer?

Insert Figure 1 About Here

The research question guiding this study was, "do African-American females hold true factual understandings of breast cancer? Chi-square analysis revealed that participants did not specify an understanding of how cancer is caused. In fact, data show that n = 11 participants correctly identified factors such as heredity, diet, and early screenings with respect to breast cancer (p, < .0001). Refer to Table 1.

Table 1: Chi Square analysis of thoughts and feelings about breast cancer

	X^2	d.f.	Significance level
Thoughts related to death	.04	1	.84
Thoughts related to fears and anxieties	12.6	1	.000
Thoughts related to physical impairments	1.6	1	.211
Thoughts related to a loved one	73.04	1	.000
Thoughts related to exact cause	53.3	1	.000
Thoughts related to early diagnosis	19.2	1	.000
Thoughts related to survival	59.5	1	.000
Spiritual thoughts	50.2	1	.000
Other	48.9	1	.000

Statistical tests were conducted to test differences in the types of thoughts black women have when they think of breast cancer. Clearly the most widely held thought among this sample was related to thoughts of death, fear, and loss of breasts and/or hair. Data analysis also revealed that respondents typically thought of "pink ribbons," "*Avon*," along with "promotional, public relations" events such as "*Race for the Cure*."

It must be noted that the data are liable to the problems of self-report behavior measures; particularly the measure of "what do you think of when you think of breast cancer." It is obvious that respondents, if cued, might have come up with other thoughts, but what seems to be significant for this study is that African-American women think breast cancer means death or other misinformed thoughts. Data as presented in this stage of the research process seem to provide a great deal of information concerning perceptions held among black women and breast cancer. They also support, or at least suggest that further investigation is needed testing the idea that advertising and other health communication campaigns should deal specifically with these misperceptions and ideas concerning breast cancer.

Strategies

When respondents were asked, "what motivates (or motivated) you to conduct a breast cancer screening, mammography, or self-examination? In other words, what would help persuade you to seek treatment or screening for breast cancer?" Data show that women in this study thought the best way to persuade them to seek treatment or screening is to provide more ads listing or identifying the "real causes" and/or ways to prevent breast cancer, $\chi^2 = 51.8$, d.f. =1, $p < .0001$.

Insert Figure 2 About Here

Rational Appeals

Provide information and facts: The African American females in this study clearly felt that advertisements for and about breast cancer need to provide facts and rationales about breast cancer. Comments in this category are: "Provide more facts about what happens when you get cancer. What are the survivor rates?" "We need more advertisements that tell us about who gets cancer and why?," "We need more ads that stress the importance of screenings... I mean we need to tell black women that cancer doesn't kill."

Comments obtained in this study clearly express this sample's need and desire for rational advertising appeals that communicate information about the causes of and risk factors associated with breast cancer. One respondent said, "I think that black physicians should speak out telling us the importance of early detection. I think they should tell us that we can survive by giving us facts about who and how many women survive…not how many people die. I don't want to know that." And yet another comment simply stated that an ad should, "show me how simple it is to get tested."

Emotional Appeals

Rely on testimonials from "real-life" survivors: Respondents in this study also expressed a desire to see people "who appear healthy but survived breast cancer." One female aged 46 said: "what would help me would be learning that someone who appears healthy (looks good) can still do important things in life. They do not really lose. I would like to see a picture of an attractive young woman going about her day and being able to see inside her body and that despite the cancer and losing a breast, she is a survivor." Examples of other thoughts coded in this category are: "I would like to see someone like me in an ad and know that she survived," "African American women of various ages that survived."

Suggestions also were received that ads should communicate personal responsibility. As one respondent mentioned, "advertisers need to put the responsibility on the individual and not make us think that buying [or wearing] a pink ribbon or buying a product that gives money to a breast cancer foundation will cure the problem. More ads should make black women personally responsible for the choices they make."

Discussion and Conclusion

The present study sought to identify perceptions, thoughts, and feelings held by an "at-risk" population, black women, when it comes to ideas and thoughts about breast cancer. The African American females in this study provide some ideas about how some black women think and feel about breast cancer. Data obtained in this study found that:

1. The most widely held perception about breast cancer by African American women in this sample were thoughts and feelings related to death, fear, and loss of breasts and/or hair. Data analysis also revealed that respondents typically thought about public relations campaigns and promotional products for breast cancer such as "pink ribbons," and "*Race for the Cure*." This suggests that public relations advertising may be effective at raising consciousness, but perhaps not as effective at motivating women to seek screenings and other preventative treatments.
2. Participants did not specify or express a clear understanding of how breast cancer is caused.

3. Women in this study expressed a sincere need and desire for rational advertising appeals that communicate information about the causes of and risk factors associated with breast cancer.
4. To persuade African American women to seek breast cancer screening and mammography, and other preventative behaviors, messages and advertisements should employ "role models" or other African American women who survived and continue to lead healthy, productive lives.

Despite its limitations, the study provides some insights and sheds some light into an idea for future research: Studies should assess the extent to which the messages about this disease accurately reflect and adequately relate to the needs and behaviors of the African American female audience. Future research should create ads that relate to many of the ideas and suggestions posed by the sample in this study and determine if the type of appeal used in the ads encouraged differences or attitudes toward intention to get detected early for breast cancer.

For example, Frisby and Chang (2000) found that ads in African American magazines typically employ fear appeals. The data in this study seem to suggest that if African American women do hold misperceptions of breast cancer. Research should explore the effect that ads present used to encourage early detection have on changing these attitudes and behaviors.

Future research might manipulate the appeal in order to test for and examine the effects of various types of appeals on seeking or avoidance behaviors. Future studies might test the effects of incorporating "death statistics" in or near the headline on attitudes to seek early detection. For example, research might explore or compare "fear appeals" presently running in "black media" and determine if ads that convey more positive, hopeful messages informing black women that they can survive or at least beat the odds have a significant impact on the use of early detection. Copy could then be used to communicate the idea that the point or purpose behind early detection is to help reduce the spread of the disease and possibly extend one's life expectancy.

An important part of campaign planning and design is, according to Rice and Atkin (1994), is formative evaluation which provides data and perspectives to improve messages" (p. 374). It is possible to speculate that some campaigns or ads for breast cancer may have been unintentionally providing persuasive models using messages appeals that are based on prescriptive norms.

While some may argue that campaigns that seek to increase knowledge about a phenomenon are and can be effective and productive (i.e., AIDS or breast cancer), it is possible that some breast cancer campaign produce unintended negative effects. Examples of the unintended effects are: a) repeated exposure to an ad warning teenagers about the dangers of smoking may actually encourage teens to smoke; b) appeals to an audiences' fears may encourage them to selective expose or avoid any and all disturbing messages. This may occur when a headline echoes disturbing statistics like the number of deaths related to HIV, AIDS or Breast cancer. Those persons falling within the target audience group could possibly find this ad and its message is too disturbing. As a result, members of the target audience may be "encouraged" to selectively avoid any and all parts of a message designed to encourage an "at-risk" population to seek early detection and treatment.

Selective avoidance, exposure, retention, and other unintended consequences of many health campaigns (such as breast cancer) may ultimately cause audiences to avoid the message and/or encouraging misperceptions to linger.

It is even possible to speculate at this point that some health communication campaigns might even "prime" misperceptions and myths held about the health problem and its risks (i.e., cancer means death). Thus, in the case of breast cancer, it is possible that the death rate for black women with breast cancer may be reduced if advertisements aimed at this niche market are used to communicate the importance of self-evaluation and early detection. It is possible that advertisers who create ads concerning breast cancer and place those ads in media that reach African American women, may be sending out the wrong message: ads may actually appeal to the myths and fears, ultimately "encouraging" selective exposure and avoidance behaviors.

Implications and Future Directions

Few studies have addressed the relationship among breast cancer advertisements and associated factors for seeking treatment and examinations among African American women. Future research should investigate how racial/ethnic differences are influenced by perceptions of advertising messages and how advertising messages may affect and persuade African American women to seek early detection, conduct self-breast examinations, and dispel false beliefs and myths concerning the causes and related-effects of contracting breast cancer. Studies in this area might use theories that allow detailed investigations on how advertising promotional campaigns might be used to address socio-cultural beliefs, attitudes, lifestyle habits and other issues. Researchers, for example, incorporating cultivation theory, social learning theory, or other media effects theories, can (and should) expand data obtained in this study to other media vehicles. For example, using television as the unit of analysis, researchers could determine if and/or how television and its ability to incorporate visual and sound effects might alter these misperceptions and change attitudes toward breast cancer and early detection behaviors.

The major implication of this study might be summed up in one sentence: advertisers need to find better ways of improving advertising messages so that they might improve the prevention, early detection, and care of breast cancer among African American women. One of the areas were the advertising profession has historically contributed to problems of "stereotyping" is by systematically excluding them from mainstream advertising, research on effects, or representation. Studies have found, for example, that blacks are represented in fewer than 1 percent of all ads studied and when they do appear, they are often waiters or servants (see for example, Shuey, King, and Griffith, 1953). Thus, while this study may have limitations, it is a beginning or the start of several necessary and important research studies that may begin to provide more information on a market that has been largely ignored.

Future research could also focus on obtaining more primary data, conducting more interviews, focus groups, and other data that might begin to provide insights into perceptions held about breast cancer and the impact of messages designed to change behaviors. Based on this study, experimenters might use a pre- post-test using experimental ads that communicate "hope" and determine how well the ads convince ethnic women to engage in self-examinations and early detection. The present study is useful in this: it sheds light or at least begins to challenge ideas about the effects of specific advertising campaigns on specific ethnic groups.

Research in the area of health communication and ethnic markets might also attempt to uncover the African American women's beliefs and values regarding health and illness. Data obtained from studies in this area might be used and applied by advertising practitioners so that they could use the information to design better, more effective ads and promotional campaigns related to cancer prevention and control. Studies could then be used to develop more effective public policy initiatives in the area of cancer prevention and health care.

In a study conducted by Freedman (1998), data obtained show that knowledge about the African American ethnic group has a very poor understanding by the dominant white medical community. Freedman's research shows that most medical doctors expressed a complete unawareness concerning the beliefs and values of black patients, and he found that many doctors reported that holding this type of abnormal understanding compromises the quality of health care afforded to most African American patients.

Data obtained in this study suggest the idea that advertisers and campaigns that target black women should include messages and appeals that communicate hope: ads should inform black women that getting breast cancer does not mean you are going to die. Messages, it appears, should focus on the fact that the key to early detection of breast cancer is mammography and medical attention. Advertisers, health care educators, and campaign developers may want to seriously consider using advertising and other mass media to encourage women of color to live happier, healthier lives.

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Table of Figures

Figure 1: Number and Types of Thoughts and Perceptions Held by Women of Color in terms of Breast Cancer

Figure 2: Suggestions for effective advertising campaigns to encourage healthy behaviors about breast cancer prevention

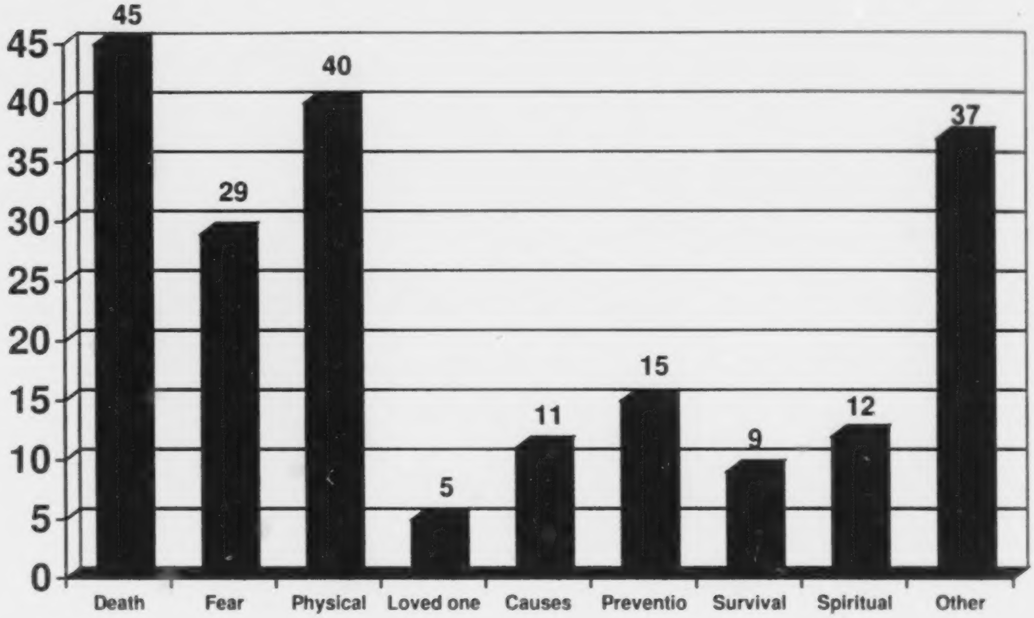
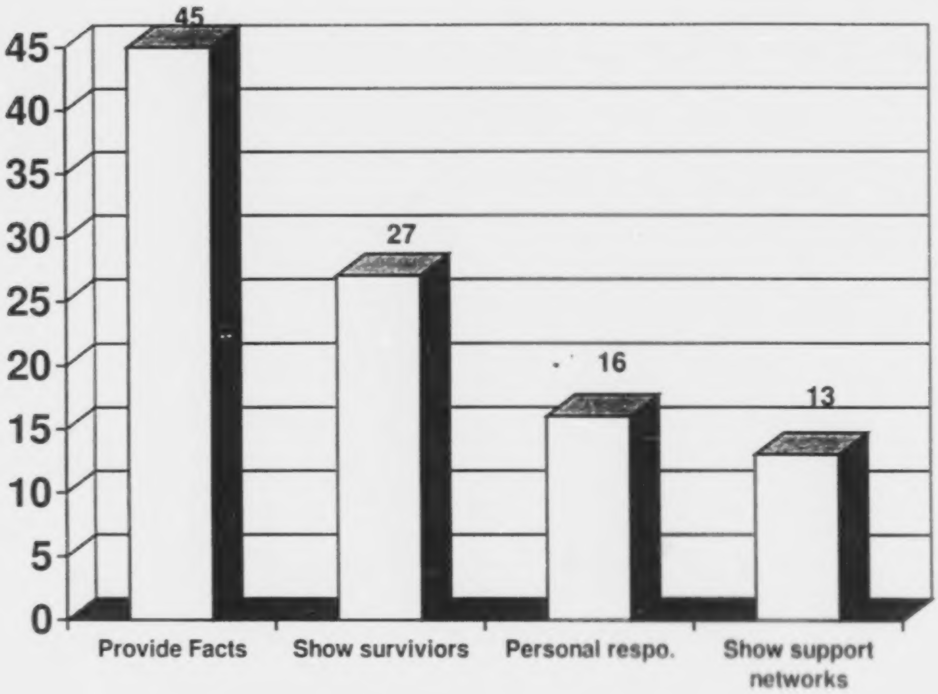


Figure 1: Number and Types of Thoughts and Perceptions Held by Women of Color in terms of Breast Cancer



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Advertising and the Consumer's Hunt for Information: Traditional and Internet Sources

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Abstract:

Advertising and the Consumer's Hunt for Information: Traditional and Internet Sources

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In advertising, timing customer information is crucial. If we know consumer's information seeking strategies, we can place information so that they will stumble across it at the right moment. Using hunting metaphors (hunting, fishing, trapping, tracking, poaching, herding, breeding, and driving) this paper provides a typology of consumer information seeking strategies depending on whether the consumer knows where to look for information, will contact an information source, and search for information themselves.

Advertising and the Consumer's Hunt for Information: Traditional and Internet Sources

Introduction

"The advertising world is changing." This is a statement that has been uttered since the dawn of marketing, but it is also becoming truer as time passes. The marketplace is experiencing a shift in both the target audiences and the media. This change in the advertising and marketing situation needs to be accompanied by changes in thinking about how to contact customers. Rapp and Collins (1990) suggested that with a new perspective, we can adjust to this new reality in the marketplace and thus become "open to the opportunities made possible by using the new electronic media and by using the established media in new ways – not just for the sake of novelty but to locate, contact, activate, and cultivate customers in the most accountable, cost efficient way."

The mass market of the post-World War II era has shattered into millions of pieces. Part of this marketplace shift is that the consumer target groups are becoming smaller, more diverse, more complicated, and less visible (Peppers and Rodgers, 1995). The Normal Rockwell all-American family of brand loyalists – breadwinner father, housewife mother, two and a half children – has almost become an endangered species. As Joel D. Weiner described it "the mythological homogeneous America is gone. We are a mosaic of minorities" (Schiller, 1989).

America's constantly-changing demographic mix means that the target audiences that were there yesterday are simply not here today (Reese, 1997). The following trends have changed the target markets and are continuing to expand: households are dwindling to one or two members, women are working outside the home, women are pursuing more professional careers, meals are eaten away from home or are ready-prepared foods, consumers have less time for shopping (thanks to two-income families), and purchasing power is in the hands of more mature Americans (Rapp and Collins, 1990).

Along with changing target markets comes a changing media environment. Network TV is losing its domination over the national advertising landscape. "Because of the escape routes provided by independent stations, cable TV, the VCR, and the hand-held remote control device – as well as the demands on personal time… - the audiences for network television commercials keep going down, down, down" (Rapp and Collins, 1990). This decline has very serious implications for national advertisers. According to J. Tylee Wilson, chairman of RJR Nabisco, "Gone forever is the great electronic funnel through which we could pour our products into the mainstream of American awareness" (Levine, 1986). Eiseman (1989) expands on this concern by stating, "… viewers are not just abandoning the networks for cable or Fox Broadcasting, or for rented videocassettes, but are simply shutting their sets off for the sake of other, unknown pursuits."

One of the pursuits that consumers are abandoning TV for is the Internet (Robinson, Levin, and Hak, 1998). The number of homes with PCs continues to grow slowly and steadily by a few percentage points a year (Kate, 1998). Children of computer-owning parents watch less TV thanks to access to a home computer (Kate, 1993). New multimedia technologies enable the variety of converged media products such as the marriage of the television to the computer (Stipp, 1998). Such combinations would further change the nature of communicating with the consumer (Cravatta, 1998).

Many innovative ways of learning about Internet consumers are being implemented. For example, NetZero is providing no-fee Internet access in exchange for detailed information about the user and willingness to read ads (Lach, 1999). Also, marketers are tracking web traffic through the use of cookies, bits of code deposited on web browser's hard drive when a particular page is loaded (Eggers, 1997). This practice is controversial because these computer files can potentially be shared with any site that they visit and ultimately invade the user's privacy. Yet, these techniques do not take into account the actual processes that consumers use to seek information.

A new approach is needed to find the consumer who is preparing himself or herself for a purchase in this new marketing environment. The approach that this paper suggests is to examine the strategy used by the customer who is looking for information and to put the information that the marketer wants to present in a place where the customer will find it. By doing this, the marketer blends his efforts with the consumers' information seeking strategies. This is a very cost-effective approach for the marketers in terms of time, effort and money

Such an approach is a complete turnaround of traditional approaches of advertising. Traditionally, advertisers find out where the potential consumers of their particular products are and send the message to that place. Instead, the advertisers could find out where the search for information usually leads consumers and could put the message where the consumers eventually will be. This new approach need not usurp the traditional one, but instead could augment it by focusing on the highly-involved, ripe-to-purchase information seeker.

To develop this new approach to advertising, it will be necessary to create a definition of information seeking, explore previous studies, and develop an overview of the type of information seeking. A hunting metaphor is applied to consumer information seeking to describe possible strategies employed.

Definition of Information Seeking

According to Krikelas (1983), information seeking behavior refers to "any activity of an individual that is undertaken to identify a message that satisfies a perceived need" (p. 6). Atkin (1973) defined information seeking as "seeking behavior that is purposefully initiated in response to an explicit question about a topic."

The full definition of information seeking can be found in its origins, the cognitive dissonance theory. Festinger (1964) discussed pre-purchase decisions by hypothesizing that when an individual needs to make a decision, his behavior is largely oriented towards making an objective and impartial evaluation of the merits of alternatives. This behavior takes the form of collecting information about these alternatives, evaluating this information in relation to himself and the situation, and establishing a preference ordered between the alternatives. Establishing this preference order does not immediately result in a decision. The individual will continue to seek new information and to re-evaluate old information until he acquires sufficient confidence that his preference order is correct and will not be reversed by additional information.

The majority of the information seeking strategy studies were conducted in mass communications and marketing. Donohew and Tipton (1973), the most prominent mass communication information seeking scholars, state that there are two strategies that individuals might use in information seeking: the broad-focus and the narrow-focus. A broad-focus strategy initially involves identifying potential sources of information and using them on a relatively non-selective basis. Then the broad-focuser reviews his information, selects the best, and organizes his other information around it. Image, pressures for closure, availability of sources, and other factors are taken into consideration in this organization. A narrow-focus strategy is one in which one source of information is focused on. Sources and ideas are added as they are found.

An example is two students working on a term paper. One student might take the broad-focus strategy by looking up the general topic in the card catalog or computer indexes and compiling a long list of titles. Only then would s/he look at specific content. The narrow-focusing student would begin with one key article (or book), check footnotes and bibliography for titles and work outward from that center (Donohew and Tipton, 1973).

While Donohew and Tipton (1973) present these strategies as opposites, they recognize that broad-focus and narrow-focus should, more realistically, be viewed as extremes of a continuum. Most information-seekers use a combination of these two strategies. This strategy concept, while useful, does not identify variables that lead an individual to adopt approach or the other.

Donohew, Tipton, and Haney (1978) then extended Donohew and Tipton's (1973) theory in a horse racing game to identify different information-seeking behavior styles among students. Variables tested in this procedure included: self-esteem, dogmatism, sensation-seeking, prior knowledge, amount of information bought for the game, broad or narrow focus strategy, risk taking, amount of time before closure was achieved, success, perceived availability of information, and mood.

The four distinct types of information seekers in this study were: Loners, Formal seekers, Risky seekers, and Informal seekers. Loners had less prior knowledge than any of the others going into the game, seemed to be more affected by mood, and interacted less with other people in giving and receiving information. Formal seekers consistently scored higher than all other types in seeking information. They perceived more information as being more available, bought more information, pursued a broad focus strategy, bought about closure later, and chose safer courses of action. Risky seekers had more previous experience than the other groups. Perhaps as a consequence, they took a narrow focus path of information seeking and placed bets sooner than the others. Informal seekers reported the highest need for variety and were higher than all the others on interpersonal communications. They also reported giving information to and receiving it from more persons than those of other types. The Informal seekers also bought the least amount of information (Donohew, Tipton, and Haney, 1978).

On the marketing side, Guiltinan and Monroe (1979) examined multidimensional shopping strategies to identify shopper types. Six strategies for grocery shopping were identified: in-store economy (will shop more than one store for best price), apathetic or mechanistic, involved traditional (positive on the shopping experience all the way around), economy planners (wants good prices, uses coupons, will not switch stores), homemakers (brand name believers, plan grocery trips and menus), and convenience. To them, shopping strategies represent sets of activities that reflect the motives and decision processes governing shopping behavior. Thus, shopping strategies represent the amount of external and internal search, the objectives of the search activity, and the planning activities prior to a shopping trip.

Midgley (1983) extended information seeking research to a product which is socially symbolic not simply utilitarian. A survey of fashion purchasers was conduced and through cluster analysis, five distinct patterns of search were identified. These patterns were: minimal external search-deliberate, peer assisted, extensive external search, spouse assisted, and minimal external search-decisive. Furse, Punj, and Steward(1984) also used cluster analysis of questionnaire data to identify distinctive external information search patterns among purchasers of new automobiles.

A Brief Overview of Information Seeking

Of the theories that incorporate information seeking behavior, two types of information seeking behaviors are recognized: pre-decisional and post-decisional. In pre-decisional information seeking, biasing influences such as opinion reinforcement are not in evidence before the information seeking process has begun. In post-decisional information seeking, it is predicted that the individual will actively avoid or be less receptive to information that contradicts their existing attitudes, behaviors and choices and individuals will seek out or be more receptive to supportive material (Tan, 1986).

Within the pre-decisional information seeking approach, there are two types of searches: informal and formal. In a formal information search, a structure is provided such as a library environment or computer program. Structures are provided to aid the seeker and thus the number of choices available to the individual is limited (Garvey and Griffith, 1968; Skelton, 1973). Informal searches are free-form searches within a wider environment. These channels are frequently created by the individual for their own use. Their primary characteristic is that they are current but they also benefit the individual by being redundant, relevant, and open-ended. They also allow the user to be selective and to direct communications as well as receiving critical feedback (Garvey and Griffith, 1968).

There is occasionally a distinction between internal and external sources in information seeking literature. One of the most through treatments of this subject is by Moore and Lehmann (1980). They state than an internal search is more closely related to information processing than actual searching behavior. Experiences and knowledge recalled in an internal search might include: stored knowledge, previous requirements of object usage or task performance, previous experiences, previous choices in a similar situation, and previous satisfaction of outcomes. External search is related to the environment and situation in which the information must be found. This paper will focus primarily on the informal, external information search strategies when describing traditional sources but there will be no hesitation to incorporate formal or internal information seeking theory where it might be helpful. Internet sources operate in an extended computer network. Search strategies in this environment are, by definition, formal and external.

Information Seeking as a Hunting Activity

Hunting is used here as a metaphor for the information seeking process. The different hunting activities describe the different approaches taken. Although an individual might favor one of these search strategies, it is more likely that different strategies are used simultaneously or in different circumstances. This information seeking theory can be divided into three types of information search strategies: hunting, fishing, and trapping. These basic strategies have five modifiers: tracking, poaching, herding, breeding, and driving (See Table 1).

The processes of information seeking will be illustrated using traditional sources with a hypothetical consumer named Diana Johnson. Diana was on a trip when she had a car accident. She suffered some back damages and has some medical costs that need covering. This entire process is complicated by the accident not happening in her own state. She wants a lawyer who is both local to where the accident took place and knowledgeable about state automobile and insurance laws to handle her case. The discussion of Internet information sources will not be limited to this hypothetical situation due to the growing and changing nature of these sources. It would be a shame to not present a search strategy example simply because it might not yet apply to or best be illustrated by finding information about legal professionals on the Internet.

Information Seeking Strategies

Hunting

Hunting is the most common type of information seeking. It is characterized by the fact that the hunter knows where to look, thus making it an efficient and effective problem solving technique. It is divided into two types: stalking and still hunting.

In stalking, the information seeker knows where the information might be and travels to that place looking for it. Diana might contact the American Bar Association or the Bar Association in the state where she had the accident for help in finding a lawyer. Looking in the appropriate city's yellow pages under "attorney" would also be a form of stalking.

Stalking information on the Internet is not much different from stalking for information from more traditional sources. If Diana knew about the American Bar Association's website www.abanet.org, she might stalk the information about a lawyer by accessing that website's lawyer referral and information service. This would allow her to access the website of the Bar Association for the appropriate state or even find a firm according to city and specialty.

Because of its directness, stalking conserves effort. Grunig (1974) stated that individuals will not attempt to acquire information that is out of their reach or impractical. Dervin (1989) concurs when she states that information is judged entirely on whether it was useful. This direct Occum's Razor approach will be a general assumption for the rest of the approaches mentioned in this paper with the exception of the driving strategy modifier.

Still hunting is when the information seeker knows where the information might be and plants himself or herself in a place where it might pass by. For example, Diana Johnson remembers that she saw an ad for an injury lawyer on television last night so she is going to watch the same show on television tonight hoping that the ad will be shown again. She is putting herself in the information's way.

On the Internet, Diana might still hunt by going to a lawyer-oriented chatroom, newsgroup, or message board and "lurk" until information about a lawyer in the appropriate city appears. Lurking on the Internet happens when an information seeker looks at the information available at a site, whether it is watching a chat scroll by or reading all of the messages on a board, but does not post any messages herself or himself. For example, Diana might go to the auto accident message board at www.lawyers.com and read all of the messages that are posted until she sees one that is relevant and mentions the city where she had the accident. She might then contact that message poster through e-mail.

In another less efficient Internet still hunt, Diana might go to a place where others are asking questions and just wait for a question about lawyers to appear. For example, on the search engine www.askjeeves.com there is a feature that allows the user to see what other users are asking. Diana might look at the questions that others are asking on www.askjeeves.com until a question about lawyers appears.

Still hunting has a low cost to benefit ratio, particularly if this source is one that the individual would attend to anyway such as watching a favorite T.V. program. Atkin (1973) predicts that "an individual will select a mass media message when he estimates that the message reward value exceeds the expenditures incurred in obtaining it." Cost attributes of information include monetary expenses, length, comprehensibility, clarity, prominence, and accessibility.

Fishing

Fishing is characterized by the information seeker being blind as where the information is. This usually results in the information seeker looking in places that they would visit for other reasons. Fishing is divided into two types: trolling and still fishing.

In trolling no particular place is identified as being a good spot to fish, thus the information seeker asks for information in the places that they would travel to anyway. Diana Johnson does not know anyone in the city where she had the accident so she asks everyone where she is going anyway such as a cab driver, the hotel clerk, the salesperson, or anyone else that she comes across.

Trolling can also be asking those information sources that you would communicate with anyway. Dervin (1989) identifies an information search where people rely first on their own cognitive resources. If these resources are not sufficient, the seekers reach out to sources closest to them or those they are habitually in contact with. According to Miller (9172) a person seeking information is most likely to gravitate toward familiar sources. In fact, communication efforts will be more effective if information is attributed to familiar sources. Like stalking, trolling is also high conservation of effort search pattern. The difference between the two is that trolling requires no change of routine whereas stalking is minimal activity for job completion.

To troll on the Internet, Diana would ask everyone that she would normally contact for other reasons for a referral to a lawyer. For example, she might add a signature to all of her e-mails asking them if they know of a good lawyer in the appropriate city. She might also go to a chatroom that she frequents and ask everyone there the same question. Unrestrained trolling on the Internet is considered very bad manners. For example, if she were to post requests for a lawyer on a Shakespeare newsgroup, the other members of the group would object to the posting of inappropriate material. A large scale trolling effort is called "spamming" and is considered to be such inappropriate behavior that many Internet organizations have policies against it.

In still fishing, the information seeker is simply keeping his/her ears open since s/he does not know where to look. S/He is sensitized to the issue and is waiting for the issue to be mentioned by anyone. When the topic is presented, then questions are asked for specific information. Still fishing and the above-mentioned still hunting fit Atkin's (1973) definition of information seeking that states "information seeking is any effort used to gather information, including sitting still for it." Diana has no clue as to where to go or who to ask, this while in the city, she keeps her ears open to any mention of lawyers. For example, when a couple near her at the bank is discussing the auto accident law suits, Diana might then ask if there are any lawyers that they would recommend.

Diana might use the Internet as she normally does paying special attention to the content of the e-mail and websites for some mention of lawyers or the town where her accident happened.

Trapping

In trapping, the search is performed remotely, thus the individual concerned with gathering the information does not perform it. In exchange for this "stillness," the information seeker will have to invest some other resource to conduct the search such as money, calling in a favor, or loss of privacy. Trapping is divided into two types: path trapping and random trapping.

Path trapping is composed of finding there's someone with the information you seek is likely to travel and snaring him or her. There is a heavy element of knowing where to look in this method. An excellent example of this exists at Lincoln Park in Chicago, Illinois. One end of the Park has a lovely garden with many different types of flowers. Barely visible in the flower beds are little signs that ask for volunteer gardeners. This is an excellent example of path trapping because generally only gardening enthusiasts are likely to be so interested in the flowers that they would be that close to read the signs. In Diana Johnson's case, she might want to insure that very complete information regarding how to contact her is left in the police report (such as how long she will be in town and her home address) and wait for the lawyers who gain contacts by combing police records to contact her.

On the Internet, Diana might post a message on a lawyer newsgroup or discussion board describing her situation and legal professional needs with an e-mail address where someone can contact her. She might also take out a classified ad, which are offered on some websites. To be path trapping, the classified ad would be on a website or from an e-publication that targets lawyers or legal issues.

In random trapping, a signal is sent out but the information seeker does not know where to send it so the signal is not strongly directed. To use this method, Diana might place an ad asking for a local lawyer in the classified section of the newspaper. She also might put up posters on telephone poles around town asking for an auto accident lawyer in the appropriate city.

An example of computer random trapping is the Delphic form of computer search that was common on pre-Internet computer bulletin boards. In this method, an information seeker places a request for information on a computer bulletin board and leaves an address where an answer can be sent. The frequent computer bulletin board callers pick up the message and place it on different bulletin boards or, if it is connected through a network, it is downloaded once a week to other similar topic bulletin boards. Anyone who sees the notice and wants to share what they know might send you a message. This process is a random trap only if the search is about a topic that the bulletin board users would not ordinarily know about and it is not the topic of a specialty bulletin board; otherwise it is a path trap.

On the Internet, random trapping might be to put message on a website that has classified ads which aren't specifically targeted. Diana might also put her request on a non-targeted website where anyone can leave a message that is read by other website visitors. One example of this is the guestbook function of www.antigo.com.

Information Seeking Strategy Modifiers

Tracking

Tracking is a modifier of many of the above-mentioned techniques characterized by traveling from one source to another by asking each source for clues along the way. Networking is a good example of tracking. Diana Johnson might call a friend or relative who lives or has lived in the city where she had the accident. They may not know the answer to her question but they suggest that she call the family lawyer in her home town who might know. She then calls the family lawyer who doesn't know an injury lawyer but went to school with a tax lawyer who practices in that city. This process continues until the required information is gathered.

Tracking is the most common information search strategy used on the Internet. Internet information seekers often use directories, websites such as www.yahoo.com that have long orderly lists of websites, or search engines, websites such as www.altavista.com that search for any word occurrence in a large number of other websites, to learn about where to find salient information. Diana could go to a search engine such as www.altavista.com and type in "attorney or lawyer" and the name of the city where the accident occurred to find a lawyer. She might also find a directory or search engine that deals specifically with attorneys or the city where she had the accident and search from these more focused lists.

Tracking on the Internet is not limited to the use of search engines and large directories. In fact, most websites have a links section that gives the information seeker access to a list of other websites that the webmaster likes. These lists of links might be related to a specific topic or just a list of favorite websites. Tracking is not just limited to websites, though. The user can click on the www.Amazon.com icon that appears on many websites and track information through book lists. A user can also look at auction websites like www.ebay.com and if they want to learn more about a class of items, such as Oriental antiques, they can go to the website of a specialty seller or check the user profiles of fellow buyers and start a dialogue with them. A webring, where the user is led through a circle of similarly-themed websites, is also a form of tracking.

Poaching

According to George Bernard Shaw, "Good swiping is an art in itself." Poaching is an information seeking approach or, perhaps more precisely, a way of reaching closure which involves taking information from another. The information seeker might use any of the above-mentioned methods to find out what information that another information seeker has. Ethical problems are frequently encountered when this approach is employed. Diana Johnson might use poaching in her search for a lawyer by hiring her opponent's lawyer.

Poaching is a basic premise behind computer hacking. Information such as corporate records, credit card numbers, and computer software are pilfered "using skills that most people can't comprehend to take technology that many fear" (Sandberg, 1995). Poaching is one of the highest forms of information seeking energy conservation (Grunig, 1974). In response to growing public alarm over computer poaching incidents, the Department of Justice recently set up an extensive website at www.cybercrime.gov.

Herding

In herding, the information seeker has foreseen the need for a certain type of information and has been gathering information on that topic before the need arises. This activity is frequently performed for the most important types of information. A family might have a list of emergency numbers next to every telephone or a business person might keep newspaper clip files on topics that might affect their business – alternative suppliers, competitor intelligence, or market trends. Diana might have found information on lawyers in this city before she arrived or she might subscribe to a traveler's assistance service, like AAA, which offers auto accident lawyer referrals. Joining organizations that specialize in a body of information is a common form of herding.

Bookmarking, adding a website to a list of favorite websites on an Internet browser program, is a common form of herding information. Diana might have already have a list of lawyer websites bookmarked or she might bookmark the best sources as she gathers information.

A simple way of herding information on the Internet is to join a newsgroup, mailing list or discussion board and archive the information from these sources. Many newsgroups already have an archives and some of them are well-organized by topics and frequently asked questions (FAQs).

Breeding

In breeding, the information seeker creates the information source to fulfill future needs but this source develops a form of gestalt thus becoming greater than a collection of facts. The information is applied in such a way or enough information is amassed that new information arises from it. For example, some third world communities will select a child to become the community physician. This child will prepare for this job all of his/her life and money will be saved to send this child to school. This child will then return home, care of the community, start a clinic or hospital, and teach others about medicine. The census is a classic example of breeding information. The amount of information acquired by the census makes it so rich that other types of information can be generated from it, such as psychographics.

Internet breeding can also take the form of a special bibliography or database that gains so much information that it generates new information itself. For example, the reporting in news articles of how many hits a topic generated on a popular search engine as a measure of the popularity of that topic is no longer considered unusual. An unusual example of a database that is breeding information is the website called www.blackvault.com. It contains over 7,000 documents about unidentified flying object and other unexplained phenomenon gathered from the United States Federal Government sources. This database consists of scanned pages of government documents, including hand written material and blacked out pages, and is so extensive that, in addition to those who use it for those who consult it for UFO government conspiracy information, it has been used by journalism researchers to study the implementation of the Freedom of Information Act.

Driving

Driving is a form of searching that is very thorough. It is the identification of an informational resource and a complete investigation of it. For example, Diana might look in the yellow pages for a lawyer and call every firm asking them about fees, specialties, and success records. She might then call the Bar Association and inquire about the firms that look most attractive. She would continue this process until she could not find any more information. This is the antithesis of the conservation of effort and low cost to benefit approaches, rather it is a completeness approach. This approach also permits the seeker to identify the best information by triangulating in from many sources. Driving is an excellent approach to use if the topic is particularly salient or risky.

Metasearch engines like www.dogpile.com are a way to drive information on the web because they seek information on a number of search engines and newsgroup with a single search. Internet agents, a small program that can travel through network systems and look for an occurrence of a work or a phrase, also make driving information increasingly easy and efficient (Krakowka, 1997). As an agent travels it either gathers pertinent information or stores the locations of information, reports its findings upon return (Mossberg, 1994). Some websites such as www.monster.com allow users to develop their own agents to report daily fresh job postings on that website that fit the user's pre-programmed specifications. Agents are becoming more common. They are also becoming so sophisticated that they not only gather and deliver the researched material but can "analyze incredibly large amounts of seemingly unrelated data and produce results that can be used to predict consumer trends" (Krakowka, 1997). When used in this way, agents are not only used to drive information but can also breed it.

Conclusion

Knowledge of these various information seeking strategies might help advertisers to provide appropriate information to the consumer at the right time. Not all of these information strategies can be addressed by the advertiser at once: some of the strategies will be easier to address than others; some will be more appropriate for different advertisers and products. Ironically, some advertisers are addressing information-seeking issues unknowingly. In order for advertisers to keep up with consumers, the theoretical formulation of information seeking must continue to be developed, tested, and implemented.

The categories of information seeking strategies described here need more development and exploration. They need to be integrated with other theories such as diffusion of innovation (Rogers, 1962), schema research (Meyers-Levy and Tybout, 1989), or personal influence in the adoption process (Katz and Lazarsfeld, 1955). Changes in consumer information seeking strategies that follow from changes in technology are a continually expanding frontier for research. These information seeking categories also need testing and more specific definition. For example, they could be studies through a series of in-depth interviews using Dervin's methods (1983) to determine how seekers acquire information to reach a final decision. Using an experimental method, the use of cookies could also be used to track subject's Internet searches and determine their strategies.

Given the changes in demographics and the media, conventional approaches of finding and communicating with consumers are in danger of becoming less and less effective. Particularly since popular new information sources, such as the Internet, do not operate according to the conventional mass media understanding of how messages may be sent to consumers (Chiang, 1993). New media will force advertisers to develop new approaches; the development of such approaches depends on a better understanding of how consumers behave in the new communication environment (Stipp, 1998). Hopefully, an examination of consumers' information seeking patterns will provide a fresh perspective to help the advertiser and the marketer adjust to new environments. These changes should not be underestimated and can not be ignored.

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Table 1: Information seeking strategies.

Title	Know Place	Don't Know Place	Travel	Sit Still	Acting Remotely
Hunting					
Stalking	X		X		
Still Hunting	X			X	
Fishing					
Trolling		X	X		
Still Fishing		X		X	
Trapping					
Path Trapping	X				X
Random Trapping		X			X

Know Place: The seeker knows where the required information is.
Don't Know Place: The seeker does not know where the required information is.
Travel: The seeker initiates contacts with the information source.
Sit Still: The seeker waits for the information to come to him or her either purposefully or serendipitously.
Acting Remotely: The seeker leaves a message and waits for the information source to contact her or him.

Information seeking strategy modifiers

Tracking: Traveling from one source to another by asking for clues along the way.
Poaching: Taking information from another.
Herding: Gathering information on a topic before the need arises.
Breeding: A collection of information that spawns new information.
Driving: A very through information search.

Presidential Primary 2000 Videocassettes: A Framing Study

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Abstract

Presidential Primary 2000 Videocassettes: A Framing Study.

Current research on presidential primary campaign videocassettes provides merely a brief history of this unique type of advertising. This study uses frame analysis to explore the presidential primary campaign videos of Gary Bauer, Bill Bradley, George W. Bush, Steve Forbes, Al Gore, and John McCain. Two researchers systematically viewed the videos and found that while each candidate frame was unique, all six videos shared one frame: mass media as supplier of candidate validation.

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Presidential Primary 2000 Videocassettes: A Framing Study.

Presidential candidates are increasingly using so-called "meet the candidate videos" in their campaign strategy during the early months of the primary campaign season. These videos provide biographical and issue information about the candidate. According to Mundy (1995), these videos are "a hot secret among political consultants." She adds:

> Video ads avoid 'media interpretation' – if the candidate babbles foolishly or ignores a serious question from the press, the friendly film editor fixes the faux pas and leaves you the best part. They are also extremely cheap to produce and mail – maybe $1.25 for a 10-minute slobberfest including tape, postage and a fund-raising letter. That is a fraction of the cost of a prime-time advertising buy and, if it is executed properly, the video will generate free media coverage.

These videos are selectively marketed to potential donors and mailed to citizens in key battleground states that the candidate believes are his most likely voters. The videos also are shown to Democratic and GOP faithful at party functions (Faucheux, 1994, 1997; Luntz, 1988).

One GOP political strategist, Greg Steven, says presidential primary videos are invaluable to candidates in primary campaigning: "Imagine hundreds of groups of 10 or more gathered in their living rooms, just watching one of these" (quoted in Mundy, 1995). But what exactly are they watching, and how are the candidates' images and issues packaged in each videocassette? In this exploratory area of research, frame analysis is used to gain an understanding of how the campaigns package their candidate.

This analysis looks at frames used in each video as well as frames that are common to all six of the Democratic and Republican presidential candidates -- Gary Bauer, Bill Bradley, George W. Bush, Steve Forbes, Al Gore, and John McCain -- who

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released presidential primary "meet the candidate videos" during the 2000 presidential primary. The paper concludes with a discussion of framing theory's utility with research on political advertising.

Literature Review

Political communication scholars as well as campaign consultants are well aware of the effectiveness of direct marketing techniques, which include direct mail and videos (Colford, 1994; Denton & Woodward, 1998; Luntz, 1988; Reynolds, 1989; Tait, 1994). Trent and Friedenberg, (1995, p. 272) argue that there are "enormous advantages" in direct marketing's ability to "target an audience more precisely than virtually any other form of advertising."

Direct marketing of candidate videos has become widespread because of improved technology, economies of scale, and response rate success. Trent and Friedenberg (1995) note that:

> According to some studies, as many as 40 percent of those who receive an unsolicited video will watch it, a far higher rate than unsolicited mail typically generates. Moreover, studies suggest that the response rates, whether the video is simply seeking voter support or seeking volunteers and/or money, typically runs 20 percent higher than direct mail (p. 282).

Political communication scholars and political scientists have tried to understand the use and effects of political advertising, marketing and the media in presidential primary campaigns. But while TV spot advertising research is abundant, scholarship on presidential primary campaign videocassettes provides merely a brief history of this unique type of advertising.

Presidential primary campaign videocassettes can trace their lineage to George Bush's 1980 presidential campaign (Sabato & Beiler, 1988, p. 8). By 1988, 11 of the 13

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major presidential candidates had added direct mail videos to their primary campaign advertising strategy (Luntz, 1988, p. 211). Some campaigns have mass mailed videos to all registered voters in their party in key states, while other candidates have targeted videos to party activists (Norrander, 1992, p. 15). In 1992, Clinton's campaign claimed that up to 70 percent of undecided voters who received his 12-minute primary campaign video watched it (Devlin, 1994, p. 95). Journalists also receive candidate videos and sometimes do stories on them (Luntz, 1988, p. 212; Mundy, 1995). Some candidates also use the Internet to disseminate the videos. For the 2000 race, Gore mailed out videotapes and also included the video on his presidential campaign Web site, and McCain included a link on his Web site to order copies of his video.

Broader research on campaign advertising shows that TV spot ads can exercise influence on voters' perception of candidates during primary campaigning (Pfau et al., 1995). Furthermore, presidential candidates who advertised early and retain a fixed image fare well in comparison with candidates who produce multiple images (Devlin, 1994). Other research focuses on how voters gather political information before they vote (Lowden et al., 1994) and on the effects of and relationship between "issue" and "image" presidential TV spots in primary campaigning (Shyles, 1984).

Research on media coverage during presidential primaries demonstrates that TV network newscasts focus more on the "horse race" aspect of campaigning and less on explaining the specific issues the candidates are talking about (Speckman, 1999). Other research looks at campaign coverage, and attitudes and perceptions of presidential nominating contests (Bartels, 1988).

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Presidential primary contests also can be seen from the perspective of political theater and ritual. with the successful candidates being the ones who understand the "constraints and functions of the drama" of the primaries (Trent. 1978. p. 292). The functions for the primaries. which Trent calls "the first act." include the candidate's surfacing onto the public stage; his or her conformity with the public's image of what a president should look and sound like: listening to voters' idea and proposing his or her own: and raising money. volunteers and staff to appear to be a "serious" political player.

At the general election level. research has been done on a wide variety of political communication media. including 30- to 60-second TV ads (Diamond & Bates. 1992: Jamieson. 1996: Johnson-Cartee & Copeland. 1997: Kern. 1989: West. 1997) and 10- to 15-minute "presidential campaign films" (Novak. 1997. 1995: Morreale. 1996. 1994a. 1994b. 1991: Timmerman. 1996).

However, a distinction needs to be made between presidential campaign films, which are shown to a national TV audience during the Democratic and Republican national conventions, and presidential primary campaign videocassettes, which are targeted to party faithful during the early months of the primary campaign season. Furthermore. as will be discussed in this study. while presidential campaign films focus almost entirely on promoting pleasant images of the presidential nominee, the primary campaign videos concentrate far more on specific issues of the day to move potential voters to the polls.

Primary Campaign Background

The campaign started in the summer of 1999 with the Democratic and Republican nominations apparently sewed up: Vice President Al Gore for the Democrats and Texas

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Governor George W. Bush for the GOP. By the fall, Gore was receiving a serious challenge from former New Jersey Senator Bill Bradley, who was running even with Gore in New Hampshire because of Gore's perceived lack of "electability" in the general election (Time magazine, 10/4/99, p. 45-46).

While campaigning, both Gore and Bradley signaled their support for abortion rights, free trade and gun control. On health care, Bradley called for near universal coverage, while Gore proposed to extend coverage to uninsured children (Time, 1/17/00, p. 40). By the beginning of 2000, Gore's image in the press had changed from "wooden soldier to junkyard dog." He adopted a fighting debate style and challenged Bradley, whose health had become an issue, to quit running ads and debate more (Time, 1/31/00, p. 28-30).

On the Republican side, the field included Bush, who enjoyed the support of the Republican establishment and millions of dollars in contributions; Arizona Senator John McCain; whose main issues were campaign finance reform and the attractiveness of his life story; magazine publisher Steve Forbes, whose main issues were the flat tax and conservative values; and conservative activists Gary Bauer and Alan Keyes. Bush's momentum was hurt in the fall of 1999 by questions about his intelligence and command of foreign affairs, specifically his inability to name the leaders of Chechnya, India and Pakistan (Time, 11/15/99, p. 38-46).

Both Bush and McCain campaigned as free trade internationalists, called themselves pro-life, and called for medical savings accounts as a health care remedy (Time, 12/13/99, p. 49; 1/31/00, p. 29-38; 2/7/00, p. 32). By January of 2000, Bush and McCain were jabbing at each other's tax cut plans, with Bush calling for larger cuts

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(Time, 1/17/00, p. 36). In February and March, McCain gained attention for his outreach to independent and Democratic voters (Time, 3/6/00), while Bush's visit to Bob Jones University brought up issues of racial and religious intolerance (Time, 3/13/00).

Theory

This analysis has been guided by framing theory as the first step in the exploration of primary campaign videos. While a quantitative content analysis could list or rank order the candidate videos' issues and images, frame analysis allows for a comprehensive, thick description of these videos to get at the deeper level of meaning of how these videos package candidates.

While the exact definition of framing has historically been vague (Scheufele, 1999; Entman, 1993), Goffman (1974) began the discussion on framing by arguing that individuals use a "schemata of interpretation," which he calls frames, to interpret and make sense of their world (p. 21). More specifically, Gamson and Modigliani (1987) defined a frame as a "central organizing idea or story line that provides meaning to an unfolding strip of events" (p. 143). This story line, which includes visual and verbal elements, is constructed by "symbol handlers" (Gitlin, 1980, p. 7), who may be journalists, elites, interest groups, or political advertisers. Seen from this perspective, frames allow political advertisers to organize large amounts of biographical and issue-oriented information about their candidate into an efficient package for audiences to interpret.

Entman (1993) argued that frames have at least four locations in the communication process. The first location is the communicator, who consciously or unconsciously constructs frames. The second location, the text, contain frames that are "manifested by the presence or absence of certain keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments" (p. 52). Receivers, the third location, then process these frames and mix them with their own personal frames, which are part of the "commonly invoked frames" of the larger culture, which is the fourth location. In addition:

> Framing essentially involves selection and salience. To frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described (p. 52).

Framing in political communication has been used mostly to understand what story lines journalists use in presenting news on political issues and activists (Ashley & Olson, 1998; Gamson, 1992; Gitlin, 1980; Iyengar, 1991; Pan & Kosicki, 1993), election campaigns in the United States (Rhee, 1997) and abroad (Woo, 1996), moral values controversies (Tucker, 1998), and international incidents (Entman, 1991).

Framing research on how advertisers frame their products is just beginning to emerge. As Roefs (1998) notes:

> It is to be expected that future framing research will include entertainment, public relations, and advertising, which are all, of course, areas where framing is a deliberate, daily activity, perhaps even the raison d'etre.

Morreale (1991) used a textual frame analysis to explore the verbal and visual techniques used in Ronald Reagan's 1984 general election campaign film, "A New Beginning," which was shown on TV nationwide. She argued that "the Republicans used framing to create a 'reality'" (p. 96) through the use of ideological, mythic and rebirth frames in the film. She also noted the utility of framing theory with regard to exploring this type of political advertising (p. 6, 97).

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Another advertising study used framing to examine TV ads with regard to whether prime-time advertising reflects existing cultural values, misrepresents existing values, or constructs new ones (Wolburg & Taylor, 1998).

Methods

To conduct the frame analysis for the present study, two researchers, both trained in qualitative methods and frame analysis, individually viewed all six of the presidential primary campaign videos that were produced during the 2000 presidential election cycle. As a check against the risk of subjective findings, the two researchers came from different backgrounds, with one having more professional and academic experience in political communication than the other.

The guiding research question for the study was: "What were the various frames utilized in the videos of the presidential primary candidates of the 2000 race?" The researchers watched each video several times, using Entman's (1993) framing definition as the basis for analysis. Each video was viewed closely to look for:

> "Keywords, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts or judgments" (p. 52).

Close attention also was paid to how the videos chose to:

> "Promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described" (p. 52).

In addition, transcripts were made from the videos to aid in the exploration of themes. Notes were taken by the researchers, who cited the keywords, images, moral evaluations, and such that were found in the videos. The notes then were compared. The

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themes, or frames, that emerged from viewing the videos and transcripts were agreed upon by both researchers.

Findings and Discussion

After the two researchers systematically viewed the videos, using Entman's (1993) framing conceptualization, each was found to contain the following frames:

Democrats: Bradley (leadership and electability), Gore (small-town values).

Republicans: Bauer (reclaim Reagan's legacy), Bush (fresh start), Forbes (family values and individual freedom), McCain (moral character and political courage).

In addition, one other frame reached across party lines and was found in all six videos: mass media as supplier of validation, or, "I'm qualified to be president because the media say I am."

Bill Bradley: He's a leader who's electable.

Leadership. Bradley's 5-minute film highlights his leadership qualities with clips from his presidential announcement speech in Crystal City, Mo. "There are two kinds of politicians," he says. He pauses as the crowd laughs. He smiles and continues. "Maybe more," he says. "Those who talk and promise, and those who listen and do. I know which one I am."

Leadership on the issues is demonstrated with a clip from PBS' "The Newshour." Wall Street Journal political analyst Paul Gigot says in an interview how Bradley "links ideas to character." Gigot says that while campaigning, Bradley "talked about child poverty, he talked about health care. [Bradley said] 'These are big goals I'm going to fight for. I'm not going to listen to the polls. I'm not going to be a prisoner of the polls. I'm going to lead. I'm going to risk capital. I'm going to do some big things again.'"

Minnesota Senator Paul Wellstone, a Bradley supporter, points out that Bradley is a leader who can energize voters. He says, "Who's going to get big money out of politics and who's going to bring citizen back into politics? That is Bill Bradley."

Electability. After briefly returning to footage of his announcement speech, a voice-over of John McLaughlin, from his show "The McLaughlin Group," is heard while footage is shown of Bradley surrounded by a large crowd of supporters. McLaughlin's voice-over notes, "In both New Hampshire and New York, Bradley is in a statistical dead heat with Al Gore. This makes Republicans sweat. The former New York Knicks star is now seen as more electable than Gore." Brief footage from Bradley's past, during his New York Knicks days, also is shown. Political commentator Bob Novak is then shown on CNN adding that Democratic sources he's talked to feel that Bradley at the top of the ticket would make it easier for Democrats to take back control of Congress.

Political analyst Bill Schneider is seen on CNN discussing the results of a September 7-13, 1999, poll for how New York would vote in a match-up between Bush and either Gore or Bradley. Says Schneider, "Bradley's vote is almost the same as Gore's, but Bush's support drops noticeably. Bradley causes voters who are driven to Bush by Gore to reconsider. So it's official, Bradley can now challenge Gore on electability."

Sometimes the leadership and electablity frames can interact with each other in a way that can seem contradictory. At the beginning of the video, Bradley is shown speaking to a large audience. "I'm more interested in leadership than polls and politics,"

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he says. "And I believe we need a new kind of leadership. A leadership that puts the people front and center -- not the president." The crowd cheers. The very next segment in the video is a clip of CNN's "Inside Politics" with Schneider, who notes how poll numbers nationally are favorable for Bradley and that in the key battleground states of New Hampshire and New York, Bradley is in a "statistical dead heat" with Gore. So while disregarding polls is a sign of Bradley's leadership, the polls are still vital to establishing his electability. Also of note, Bradley's family is never seen in the video.

Al Gore: He got his values out of the hills of Tennessee.

Small-town values. Gore's 10-minute video begins with the camera moving through rolling countryside, then shows a sign saying "Carthage [Tenn.] City Limits." One of Gore's elementary school teachers, an African-American woman named Elenor Smotherman, sits on her porch and talks about the values of a small town. Dr. Gordon Petty, the family doctor, talks about what young Gore was like. Old family friends, both male and female, talk about how Gore balanced life in Washington, where his father was a senator, and life back in Tennessee. Old black and white pictures are shown of Gore in Tennessee and on Capitol Hill. "He got his values out of the hills of Tennessee," says Steve Armistead, a family friend.

Another small-town values moment can be seen in the framing of Gore's military service during the Vietnam War. Jerry Fustrel, a family friend, notes that even though Gore's father opposed the war, Gore realized that if he didn't go, someone else from his home county would have to take his place. Several pictures of Gore in military uniform are shown.

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Self-deprecating humor is sported by Gore to show that, even as vice president, he has not lost his small-town roots. On "The Late Show with David Letterman," Gore is asked by Letterman, "What should I call you? Do I call you 'Mr. Vice President?' Do I call you 'Al'?" Gore replies: "'Your Adequacy' is fine." The crowd laughs. Gore's humor also is displayed through the letter of an 8-year-old boy who wrote to the vice president. Gore reads part of the letter, which says, "You are the finest vice president of my time." A small group that is gathered around Gore laughs as he reads the letter.

When explaining Gore's service to Tennessee in both the House and the Senate, friends talk about how as early as 1976 Gore liked to hold town hall meetings to talk with the community about issues such as Social Security, arms control, technology, and toxic waste. Gore is shown at a town hall meeting talking with older residents. Toward the end of the film, Gore brings up the issue of public schools. He is shown again at a town hall meeting, wearing an earth-tone open-collar shirt, saying he wants to make "revolutionary" changes in the public schools.

President Clinton is shown briefly in the video, noting how good a job Gore has done as vice president.

The values of a father and husband. The video includes an interview with wife Tipper Gore, who says she met Gore when she was 16 and said to herself, "Wow, he's really good looking." Black and white and color photos of their courtship are shown. One of their daughters is interviewed and says Gore was a great dad. Photos are shown of him playing with his children. Tipper Gore, says he's "a great father and good husband." She says that for a class assignment she once had to take a photo that showed "love." She

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chose to take a picture of Gore shaving and smiling at her. The photo is shown while she's speaking.

Gary Bauer: He will reclaim Ronald Reagan's legacy.

Bauer's 19-minute video opens with footage and music from Ronald Reagan's 1984 general election campaign film. "A New Beginning." Over the footage of the Reagan years. Bauer comments that in the 10 years since Reagan was in office. "I fear that our party has forgotten the important lessons that he taught us." He says those lessons include: smaller government. lower taxes. a strong national defense. and domestic policies that "put people and families first." He adds. "It's time to reclaim the legacy of Ronald Reagan."

A male narrator then recounts Bauer's personal history. He grew up in Newport. Kentucky, with an ex-marine father who worked in a steel mill. He says his family taught him the value of education and hard work. The narrator notes that Bauer's first political involvement came as a youngster when he joined local pastors in what was called the "Newport reform movement" to clean up prostitution and gambling activity in the area. Bauer adds that Reagan's 1964 nationally televised speech "A Time for Choosing" was a turning point in his life. He went to Georgetown University. later joining Reagan in the White House as head of the Office of Policy Development. Pictures of Bauer in the White House with Reagan are shown as he speaks.

The narrator notes that after the Reagan administration, Bauer joined the Family Research Council, a lobbying organization. The narrator adds that Bauer is the author of several books on children and family issues. Pictures of Bauer's wife and children are shown, but none of his family speaks in the video.

The issues segment of the video includes footage of Bauer using "Meet the Press" to announce for president. He talks of his support of: the flat tax, medical savings accounts, pro-life policies, school vouchers, an increase in defense spending, the building of the Strategic Defense Initiative, changing U.S. trade policy with China, and working at "preserving traditional values." He makes reference to Reagan several times as he discusses the merits of each policy position.

At the end of video, he speaks directly to the camera, asking viewers to help him personally and financially to "make our country the shining city on a hill that Ronald Reagan always dreamed it would be."

George W. Bush: He's a fresh start.

Fresh start for the Republican Party. In Bush's 13-minute video he is framed as someone who will expand the base of the GOP and go out of his way to reach out -- both literally and metaphorically -- to all types of voters. Bush often is shown shaking hands with -- and even hugging -- large crowds of supporters, many of whom are African-American and Hispanic. In the video, his kisses a young Hispanic girl who is dressed in a traditional Mexican costume. He also hugs two Hispanic women, a Hispanic man, and a disabled boy.

In the middle of the video, superimposed over footage of Bush at a rally, are the words: "Bush was re-elected with the support of Hispanics (49%), African Americans (27%), Democrats (31%), Women (66%), Independents (73%)."

Bush also is shown talking with children from many ethnic backgrounds, walking in a parade that has a large Hispanic population, and sharing a laugh with his wife. In one scene, Bush, who is shaking hands at a rally, sees a man in the crowd who has his back

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turned to him. Bush leans over, taps him on the shoulder to get his attention, smiles and shakes his hand.

Fresh start for the country. The Bush video starts with him sitting comfortably on a couch in a Western style blue open-collar shirt, talking about why he believes he can make "a positive difference in politics." Bush adds that his campaign offers "a fresh start after a season of cynicism."

The last third of the film is a variation of a "talking head ad," with Bush giving a speech to a Midwest crowd, in a field with a red tractor behind him. In this setting, he talks about issues such as education, the economy, and character. Bush argues that the nation's cynicism can be changed through responsibility and "citizens of character." He says, "My dream is to usher in what I call 'the responsibility era,' an era that will stand in stark contrast to the last few decades which has clearly said, 'If if feels good, do it, and if you got a problem, blame somebody else.'"

The Bush video makes heavy use of the media to validate Bush's campaign claims that he would be a good president because he has succeeded in Texas on issues such as education reform, crime control, and government spending. One media quote, from USA Today, notes: "Bush has a record of cutting taxes, remaking welfare, and toughening the juvenile justice system."

Interestingly, Bush's personal history prior to becoming governor is never discussed. His children, and his famous father and mother, are all seen in brief shots, but not heard from. His wife is shown with him and in her own right, speaking with children.

Steve Forbes: He has family values and will expand individual freedom.

Family values. The biographical segment of Forbes' 18-minute video shows Forbes speaking at the pulpit of a church mostly populated by African Americans. He talks about his family's humble start from Scotland and how they built a publishing empire that includes Forbes magazine. "I've lived the American Dream, and I've lived it because of my grandfather," he says. He adds that his parents taught him valuable life lessons. Black and white photos and color footage of his family are shown while he speaks. Bagpipes are played over parts of his biographical material.

Bob, Tim and Kip Forbes, Steve Forbes' brothers, and his children, also talk on his behalf. Bob Forbes says the family had a "strong sense of what was right and what was wrong" growing up, and that "as a family, we were very tight." Forbes' brothers then note how Steve earned his way at Forbes magazine -- from working in the mail room at 16 to eventually running the company and making it more successful than it was under his famous father. Interviews with his daughters show his values as a father. "He's an extremely amazing father. He's been so dedicated to us," daughter Moira Forbes says.

Expand individual freedom. Validation of Forbes on the issue of freedom comes from many sources, including former Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger, economist Walter Williams, civil rights activist Alveda King, and former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher. In footage from a speech, Thatcher says, "Reagan conservatives, Thatcher conservatives and Steve Forbes conservatives all believe in the same fundamental things: the right to life, and to liberty and to freedom."

Forbes also is seen with President Reagan, who appointed him to head Radio Free Europe in the 1980s. Footage of the Berlin Wall coming down and other scenes of the

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Cold War's end are shown while Forbes talks about how his mission at Radio Free Europe was to "engage in the war of ideas."

The second half of the video covers Forbes' main issues from the perspective of freedom and personal choice. He says he wants people to have their own retirement accounts apart from Social Security. College-age students are interviewed who speak favorably about this. He talks about changes to health care, as well as his school choice and flat tax plans. Man-on-the-street type interviews are shown of people who agree with his ideas. He notes that he announced his 2000 candidacy over the Internet to demonstrate "a new vehicle to return the American political process back to the American people."

The video argues that as an outsider to politics, Forbes is best qualified to make changes in government to expand individual freedom. He is shown talking with a crowd of supporters. "I'm not a politician," he says, adding, "Sometimes it takes an outsider to make the changes that are necessary." Columnist Armstrong Williams says that Forbes has not been "stained and corrupted" by Washington. And Forbes tells a farm community audience, "As you well know, there is a huge disconnect between Washington, D.C., and the American people."

John McCain: He has moral character and political courage.

Moral character. McCain's 11-minute video opens with a male narrator saying, "At a time when America is searching for heroes to lead us, it has the genuine article in John McCain." Video is shown of McCain working at his desk and shaking hands with voters.

The first half of the video provides McCain's personal history, telling the story of his five and a half years as a prisoner of war in Vietnam at what was called the "Hanoi Hilton." The narrator says McCain was "born into a family where duty, honor and country were articles of faith." Archival back and white footage of him during a near-fatal accident aboard the U.S.S. Forrestal also is included. McCain, who is shown on camera wearing a red tartan button-down shirt, says that he survived his imprisonment because of "faith in God," faith in his fellow prisoners and "faith in one's country."

As photos of McCain's homecoming are shown, the narrator notes that McCain had to undergo "extensive physical rehabilitation," and that, "Sadly, like a lot of prisoners of war, John's marriage ended several years later."

Cindy McCain, his second wife, is interviewed for the video, and talks about his personal character as a father and husband. "He's a man of character, a man of honor," she says. She notes that while she was part of a medical team in Bangladesh, she brought back to the United States an injured child, Bridgett, whom they later adopted. She says: "I showed up in Phoenix and John whispered, 'Where is she going to go?' And I said, 'Well, I thought maybe she'd go to our house.' And he said, 'Well, I had a feeling that might be the case. She's welcome in our home.'"

Political courage. The second half of the video is devoted to his position on various issues. The narrator says McCain is on a "one-man crusade against wasteful spending in Washington," and that he has been nicknamed "the sheriff on wasteful spending" on Capitol Hill. The media also provides validation for McCain's political courage. He is shown on the cover of National Journal magazine with the headline: "A Maverick Takes on the Senate and Looks to 2000."

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The history of McCain's political rise -- first the U.S. House, then the U.S. Senate representing Arizona -- is documented. The video shows images of him with President Reagan, President Bush and Senator Goldwater, while the narrator notes that McCain has continued Goldwater's tradition of "plain talk conservatism."

"On issue after issue, McCain defies the special interests, even when it hurts him politically," the narrator says. The video notes he wants to pass campaign finance reform, cut taxes (by eliminating the inheritance tax and "the marriage penalty"), ensure that money contributed to Social Security be spent only on Social Security, support technology to filter out "Internet smut," and ensure that federal education dollars be sent directly to local school districts. The narrator ends by saying McCain is "a man more tested and better prepared than anyone to lead America into the 21st century."

At the end of the video, McCain addresses the camera. He says he needs personal and financial support in order to "make our country live up to its reputation as the land of the free."

All the candidates: I'm qualified to be president because the media say I am.

Mass media as supplier of validation. Some candidates used the media more than others. Bradley's video spends the most time, as a percentage of the video, showing clips from various media sources. Bob Novak is shown on "Meet the Press" arguing that wherever Bradley campaigns, his poll numbers rise. "The Gore people have a serious problem," he says. Tim Russert, the host of "Meet the Press," adds that Bradley is "an outsider, he's an alternative." Supportive headlines in the media also are displayed. During clips of CNN's coverage of his announcement speech, CNN superimposes

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Bradley's name on the screen, and under his name is the headline: "Bradley wants to bridge the divide of prejudice."

Gore, who was a reporter before entering politics, is validated in an interview with John Seigenthaler of the Nashville Tennessean. Seigenthaler says, "The best of Al Gore the reporter frequently shows up in the best of Al Gore the politician. The ability to ask sensitive questions. The ability, at times, to ask the blunt, hard, questions -- I mean it's there."

On the Republican side, Bush and Bauer make the most use of the media. Bush's video shows favorable quotes from the New York Times, Boston Globe, Washington Post, USA Today, and Fortune and Business Week magazines, as well as several Texas newspapers. Footage is shown of Bauer on C-Span and also on the TV shows "Meet the Press," "Hardball," "Face the Nation," "Larry King Live," "Both Sides with Jesse Jackson" and the "Today Show."

Forbes is shown on "Meet the Press" and on the cover of Time and Newsweek. McCain is shown on the cover of National Journal magazine.

Conclusions and Implications

This study explores the types of frames constructed by one type of political advertising: presidential primary campaign videos. Each video was found to package its candidate in a unique way, though the use of the media as a supplier of validation for their claims is seen in all of the videos.

The current frame analysis has several implications for the study of political advertising. Some political advertising scholars see framing as part of agenda setting (Ghanem, 1997), while others disagree (Kosicki, 1993). Either way, the two theories can

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be seen as sharing at least one similarity. In the same way that agenda-setting research was first used to describe the impact of journalists and later expanded to include the agenda-setting role of political advertising (Roberts & McCombs, 1994), framing's journalist-centered approach can be enriched by broadening framing research to include the story lines constructed in political ads.

Scheufele's (1999) four-cell framing typology (p. 108) divides description of individual-based and mass media-based frames into independent and dependent variables. Under the heading of the media as the independent variable, he contends that researchers should ask, "What kinds of media frames influence the audience's perception of certain issues, and how does the process work?" And with regard to individual frames as the dependent variable, he asks, "Which factors influence the establishment of individual frames of reference, or are individual frames simply replications of media frames? Further research is needed to explore viewer perceptions of the frames presented in primary campaign videos. Do viewers of these videos focus on the same frames, or (more likely) do they intertwine video frames with their individual and cultural frames to construct a separate meaning (Gamson, 1992; Huang, 1996; Neuman et al., 1992; Price et al., 1997)?

Framing research on presidential primary campaign videos also can contribute to Scheufele's process model of framing (p. 114), which is designed to examine four processes: frame building, frame setting, individual-level effects of framing, and links between individual frames and media frames. With regard to frame building, he argues that the frames journalists construct are more likely to be influenced by political actors and interest groups for "relatively new issues (ie., issues for which no frames have yet to be established)" (p. 116). As noted earlier, presidential primary campaign videos are mailed out during the early days of the primary campaign, which for many candidates is the first time they receive national press scrutiny. Seen from this perspectives, candidate videocassettes may be a significant contributor to the frame building process of journalists during the primary campaign season.

In addition, Kahneman and Tversky (1984) showed through experiments that the process of framing entails increasing awareness of certain issues and directing attention away from other issues. How the McCain campaign framed his divorce is an instructive example of Kahneman and Tversky's point. By framing the divorce as just one more sad chapter in McCain's character-building prisoner of war experience, one is invited to feel sympathy for McCain and is directed away from thoughts of who was to blame for the break-up.

Political advertising research also can be expanded by scholarship on candidate videos. As Devlin (1994) found with the 1992 primary TV ads, candidates who retain a fixed image fare well in comparison with candidates who produce multiple images. Future research should look at image consistency between the candidates' videocassettes and their TV ads.

This also raises the issue of frame consistency between media coverage and political ads. Even a brief scan of the "Primary Campaign Background" and the "Findings and Discussion" sections in this paper shows that some candidates fared better than others in retaining a consistent image in both their media coverage and their videos. Bush, whose video frames him as a man who reaches out to nontraditional Republican voters, had his racial and religious tolerance questioned in primary campaign press

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coverage. Future research should examine voter effects when inconsistency exists between videocassette and media coverage frames.

It needs to be noted that this research is exploratory in nature and is the first step toward analyzing the larger framing process in political advertising. Many facets of the presidential primary videos also need to be addressed, including how useful voters find them to be, and what role the videos play in each campaign's advertising strategy.

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Influence of Cigarette Promotion on Juvenile Susceptibility to Smoking: A Path Analysis

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Influence of Cigarette Promotion on Juvenile Susceptibility to Smoking: A Path Analysis

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Abstract

As restrictions on advertising tobacco products increase, tobacco industry resources have shifted from traditional advertising to the distribution of promotional products. Using data collected from middle and high school students in Tucson, Arizona, this paper investigates the link between exposure to tobacco promotion and juvenile susceptibility to smoking. Results show that, while exposure to tobacco promotion is correlated with other risk factors of smoking uptake, tobacco promotion has an independent influence on susce0tibility to smoking.

Influence of Cigarette Promotion on Juvenile Susceptibility to Smoking: A Path Analysis

The link between tobacco advertising and youth smoking behavior has drawn increasing attention in recent years. Evidence from internal tobacco company documents released during litigation indicate that youth have been intentionally targeted by tobacco advertising (*e.g.*, RJ Reynolds, 1973). In 1996, an estimated 5.1 billion dollars was spent by the tobacco industry to advertise and promote cigarette consumption. This figure is significantly lower than the $6 billion expenditure recorded in 1993 but still represents a 4% increase from 1995 (Federal Trade Commission 1998). Although the commercial marketing of cigarettes is supposed to be targeting adults--who are the legal tobacco consumers (Gostin, Arno & Brandt, 1997)--a great deal of research has demonstrated that cigarette advertising and promotion is associated with juvenile smoking (Pierce, Gilpin, Burns *et al.*, 1991; USDHHS, 1994). Advertising and promotion also has significant costs; Pierce, Gilpin and Choi (1999) estimated that between 1988 and 1998 there were 7.9 million new adolescent tobacco experimenters who were drawn to smoking because of tobacco advertising and promotion.

Most studies of advertising and smoking clearly demonstrate that juveniles of young ages are aware of cigarette advertisements and are able to match specific advertisements or logos with the correct cigarette brands (Altman, Levine, Coeytaux, Slade & Jaffe, 1996; Schooler, Feighery & Flora 1996; Evans, Farkas, Gilpin, Berry & Pierce, 1995; Unger, Johnson & Rohrbach, 1995; Botvin, Goldberg, Botvin & Dusenbury, 1993; Aitken, Eadie, Hastings & Haywood, 1991; Klitzner, Gruenewaod & Bamberger, 1991; Aitken & Eadie 1990; Aitken, Leathar, O'Hagan & Squair, 1987). Juveniles who are more aware and appreciative of tobacco advertising are also more likely to smoke. For example, smokers are better at identifying the brand associated with photographs of cigarette advertisements (Aitken & Eadie, 1990: 404). Furthermore, the most popular advertisements among smoking and non-smoking teenagers are for the brands that most teenager smokers smoke (Arnett & Terhanian, 1998). In addition to differences between smokers and nonsmokers, studies have also found significant differences in the recognition and appreciation of smoking advertisements among groups of juveniles with different degrees of susceptibility to future smoking. Unger *et al.* (1995) and Feighery, Borzekowski, Schooler and Flora (1998) found that juveniles who do not smoke but indicate they may in the future were more likely to report liking cigarette advertisements than nonusers who indicated that they would definitely not smoke in the future.

As restrictions on advertising tobacco products increase, tobacco industry resources have shifted from traditional advertising to the distribution of tobacco product promotions. In fact, from 1995 to 1996, the total expenditures to newspapers and magazines decreased a total of 10.8 million dollars, a 25% drop in this type of advertising. In contrast, 42% of the money spent on promotion and advertising in 1996 was invested in tobacco promotions. This represented a total of $2.15 billion dollars (Federal Trade Commission, 1998). Such promotions include free samples, coupons, free clothing such as t-shirts or hats with the cigarette brand name or logo, or free smoking related items such as lighters. Over a period of one year, approximately 4 million people received 14 million promotional items from the Philip Morris Marlboro Adventure Team campaign alone (Altman *et al.*, 1996 : 1590).

This type of promotion reaches a significant portion of juveniles. Coeytaux, Altman and Slade (1995) found that 35% of minors in their sample had participated in a promotional campaign by owning a tobacco promotion item, collecting coupons or having a catalog. Schooler *et al.* (1996) found that 16.5% of 7th graders had received a mailing from a cigarette company and 26.5% owned a promotional item such as a t-shirt, lighter or sunglasses. Since most previous work on the relationship of tobacco advertising and juvenile smoking has focused on juveniles' ability to recognize and identify cigarette advertisements, the effect of exposure to tobacco product promotions needs more scrutiny.

The consistent link between smoking status (or susceptibility) and tobacco advertisement recognition (or appreciation of promotions) indicates only a correlation between smoking and advertising, without indicating the causal direction. The majority of researchers assume that increased exposure to the messages and images in cigarette advertisements or promotions leads juveniles to have relatively more positive images and ideas about smoking, and these positive views then lead juveniles to smoking. In short, exposure to cigarette advertisements and promotions makes juveniles more susceptible to smoking. However, the majority of studies do not provide a clear causal link between advertising or promotion awareness and juvenile smoking (McDonald, 1993).

There are two significant alternative explanations of the correlation between advertising and smoking. The first alternative is that juveniles who are interested in smoking become more attuned to and interested in tobacco advertisements and promotions. For instance, juveniles who are exposed to cigarettes through their own smoking or that of peers and family members, would logically notice advertising for cigarettes (McDonald, 1993: 283). In addition, juveniles who smoke would be more likely to participate in promotional campaigns that require the saving of cigarette labels or proof-of-purchases in order to receive free products. In one of the few longitudinal studies of promotions and smoking. Biener and Siegel (2000) found that youths with high receptivity to tobacco advertising (who both owned a promotional item and named a tobacco brand that attracted their attention) were more likely than those with medium or low receptivity to progress from no smoking or experimentation to established smoking. This suggests that promotions do in fact lead to smoking. A second alternative is that exposure to tobacco promotion may be associated with general problem behaviors such as rebelliousness and risk-taking. Hence, it may not be the marketing per se, but personal characteristics that are accountable for differential exposure to both marketing and smoking. Most studies that examine the link between tobacco promotion or advertising and smoking, including Biener and Siegel (2000), have generally failed to control for the complex of factors such as general risk behaviors, peer or family smoking, or individual views about smoking, so these alternative explanations have not been clearly ruled out (McDonald, 1993: 284).

The current study fills several important gaps in the literature on cigarette promotion and juvenile smoking. First of all, this study shifts the focus from simple recognition of advertising to actual exposure to and participation in cigarette promotions and the subsequent effect of exposure and participation on smoking behavior. Second, the possibility that exposure may be associated with personal characteristics is explored by investigating the relative impacts of tobacco promotion and other key risk factors. Third, to eliminate the possibility that the causal order is reversed and that smoking itself might generate exposure to and participation in cigarette promotion, the data analysis is conducted with students who are not currently using tobacco, with susceptibility to smoking as the dependent variable. A path model is used to explore the causal logic suggested by the literature and to explore the possible links between tobacco promotions and smoking.

Methods

The data used for this study was collected through a self-administered survey conducted at 63 middle and high schools in Tucson, Arizona as part of the evaluation of the Full Court Press project (FCP) funded by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation. As shown in table 1, a total of 12,290 surveys were conducted in two waves with students in 7th through 12th grades. The first wave in 1996 surveyed 8,222 students in 7th, 8th, 11th and 12th grades, and the second wave in 1998 surveyed 4,068 students in 9th and 10th grades.

Table 1 about here

For this analysis, data from the two waves were merged and the sample was limited to nonsmokers (those who said they had) "never smoked a cigarette, not even a few puffs") and experimenters (those who said that they have smoked "one cigarette 'just to try' but have not smoked one in the last month"). These allows us to isolate the effect of promotions and advertising on students who are not regular smokers. The final sample was 8,248. Of these, 65.1% were surveyed in 1996 and 34.9% were surveyed in 1998. Overall, 26.3% were in 7th & 8th grades, 34.4% were in 9th & 10th grades, and 37.0% were in 11th & 12th grades. Whites were 40.9% of the sample, Hispanics were 38.3%, and females were 50.8%.

The dependent measure for this study, *Susceptibility to Smoking*, reflects whether the youth have consciously decided to not smoke or whether they are open to the possibility of smoking. Research conducted by Pierce, Farkas, Evans *et al.* (1993) established that a lack of resolve to not smoke is a good predictor for future smoking. As shown in table 2, the susceptibility index was created by adding three Likert-type items. The main independent measures, *Exposure to Tobacco Promotion* and *Participation in Promotion* were measured by a total of four questions. Actual question wordings and descriptive statistics for the variables, *Conflict with Family* and *Parental, Peer and Reference Group Norms*, are provided in table 2.

Table 2 about here

Rebelliousness was measured by the index of 11 Likert-type items shown in table 3. The index is a modified scale that includes a subset of the rebelliousness scale developed by Smith and Fogg (1979).

Table 3 about here

Personal attitudes and beliefs regarding smoking were measured by asking 11 questions that deal with potential benefits of smoking. Based on the results of the factor analysis shown in table 4, two indices were created: one for *Perceived Benefits of Smoking* and one for *Positive Social Image of Smoking*.

Table 4 about here

We use a path model to examine the direct and indirect effects of participation in and exposure to promotion. We examine the direct effects of promotion on susceptibility to smoking, then we examine the indirect effects of promotion via "positive social image" and "benefits." Personal characteristics, rebelliousness, and peer, reference group and parental norms are included. All data are standardized as z-scores and calculations of indirect and total effects are based on significant unstandardized regression coefficients.

Findings and Discussion

The data show that tobacco promotion reaches youth quite widely. As shown in table 2, 18.2% of the students reported buying items or receiving free products given out by a tobacco company. Coupons, proof-of-purchase seals, or bar codes to get gifts or other were saved by 9.5% of the students, and 4.2% of students already use tobacco promotional items. Another 24.0% report that they would be willing to use promotional items if they had the opportunity.

To compare the impact of promotion to the impact of personal characteristics, we use the path model in figure 1. We first regress perceived benefits of smoking, positive social image, participation in promotion, exposure to promotion, and the personal characteristics on susceptibility, and we then regress participation in promotion, exposure to promotion and the personal characteristics on both perceived benefits of smoking and positive social image (as shown in figure 1)[1]. Indirect effects are calculated by multiplying all significant coefficients along each path, and total effects are calculated by adding direct and indirect effects.

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[1] To control for survey year and experimenter status, two dummy variables were initially included in all regressions. However, omitting these dummy variables did not effect the magnitude, sign or significance level of any other variables. To simplify presentation, all results presented here omit these two control variables. All analyses were done in SPSS for Windows 9.0.

Figure 1 about here

The findings about personal characteristics, positive social image and social benefits are consistent with previous studies. Positive social image has the largest association with susceptibility. Respondents who thought that smoking enhances socially valuable traits such as toughness or sexiness were more likely to report higher levels of susceptibility (see table 5). Rebelliousness had the second strongest association with susceptibility. Peer norms and reference group norms are both positively associated with susceptibility; respondents whose friends and reference groups did not discourage smoking reported higher levels of susceptibility. Females were more susceptible than males, and students in higher grades were more susceptible than students in lower grades. Family conflict was also positively associated with susceptibility. Parental norms were negatively associated with susceptibility, suggesting that students whose parents thought it was important to not smoke were actually more likely to be susceptible to smoking. This is consistent with the finding that rebelliousness is related to susceptibility.

Table 5 about here

What does the data suggest about the relationship between promotion and susceptibility? Net of other factors in the model, participation in promotion has a stronger association with smoking susceptibility than exposure to promotion. As shown in table 5, participation in promotion is positively related to susceptibility, while exposure to promotion not significant in any of the models. Furthermore, participation in promotion is the third largest factor in the model overall. The previously overlooked factor of promotion participation is a far stronger predictor of susceptibility than simple exposure to promotion. In addition, participation in promotion has a significant effect on susceptibility via positive social image. Given that participation often involves wearing or displaying tobacco-related items such as hats, key-chains or lighters, this finding is not surprising. There is also a smaller effect of promotion via perceived benefits of smoking benefits.

Promotion has a significant impact on susceptibility to smoking, even when personal characteristics are accounted for. Participation in promotion is a stronger predictor of smoking susceptibility than exposure to promotion. Furthermore, the model suggests that this impact is independent of smoking behavior, since the analysis was limited to nonsmokers.

Conclusions

We show that promotion is a significant predictor of susceptibility to smoking among nonsmokers even after accounting for impact of school level, rebelliousness, parental, peer, and reference group norms, perceived benefits and positive social images of smoking. When the effect of participation in promotion on susceptibility is accounted for, exposure to promotion is not significant. The analysis suggests that while exposure to tobacco promotion is correlated with other risk factors of smoking uptake, tobacco promotion has an independent influence on susceptibility to smoking. Findings from the study support concerns about the negative effect of tobacco promotion on youth. Regardless of whether these tobacco promotions are intended for adults or minors, the reality is that these promotion efforts reach youth and clearly serve as additional an risk factor for smoking uptake among youth.

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Table 1
Description of Survey Waves

Year	Grades	Number of Schools	Number of Respondents	Number of Nonsmokers
1996	7th, 8th, 11th, 12th	62	8,222	5,398
1998	9th, 10th	16	4,068	2850
Total	7th-12th	63*	12,290	8248

* The total number of schools is not cumulative, as 15 of the 16 schools included in the survey in wave 2 were also included in wave 1.

Table 2
Description of Key Measures

Indices/Items	N	Mean/%	SD
Susceptibility* (Cronbach's Alpha=.86)			
If one of your best friends offered you a cigarette, do you think you might smoke it?	8,191	1.34	.61
At any time during the next year do you think you might smoke a cigarette?	8,174	1.43	.69
Do you think you might try a cigarette soon?	8,185	1.31	.57
Family Conflict# (Correlation Coefficient r=.51)			
I have a lot of arguments with my family.	8,196	2.12	.86
My family looks for things to nag me about.	8,170	2.12	.90
Parental Norm+ (Correlation Coefficient r=.54)			
How important does your mother (or stepmother) think staying off cigarettes is?	7,727	1.42	.81
How important does your father (or stepfather) think staying off cigarettes is?	7,391	1.60	.93
Peer Norm+			
How important does your best friends think staying off cigarettes is?	7,751	1.90	1.12
Reference Group Norm+			
How important do most people your own age think staying off cigarettes is?	7,805	2.49	.93
Exposure to Promotion (Cronbach's Alpha=.23)			
Have you received mail addressed to you personally from tobacco companies (such as surveys coupons, free gifts, or catalog)?	8,248	13.4%	
Have you ever bought or received for free any product which was given out by a tobacco company (such as clothing, hats, bags, posters, or lighters)?	8,248	18.2%	
Participation in Promotion (Correlation Coefficient r=.33)			
Have you ever saved coupons, proof-of-purchase seals, or bar codes from cigarette packs to get gifts or promotional items?	8,248	9.5%	
Would you ever use tobacco promotional items?	8,248	4.2% using now 24.0% yes	

*Scores range between 1 and 4 where 1 means *definitely not* and 4 means *definitely yes*.
#Scores range between 1 and 4 where 1 means *strongly disagree* and 4 means *strongly agree*.
+Scores range between 1 and 4 where 1 means *very important* and 4 means *not important at all*.

Table 3
Item Descriptions for the Rebelliousness Scale: Means and Standard Deviations* (N=7,708)

	Mean	SD
1. I feel guilty when I break a rule.**	2.04	.71
2. When rules and regulations get in the way, I sometimes ignore them.	2.48	.72
3. If I don't like an order I have been given, I may not do it, or may do only a part of it.	2.34	.79
4. If I don't like something I'm told to do, I often put it off or just don't do it at all.	2.27	.79
5. Sometimes I enjoy seeing how much I can get away with.	2.17	.86
6. When I make a decision, I usually go by what my parents taught me.**	1.96	.75
7. I sometimes get myself into trouble at school.	2.01	.87
8. When I'm told to do something by a teacher, I do it.**	1.80	.65
9. I get a kick out of doing things every now and then that are a little risky or dangerous.	2.55	.88
10. If anyone upsets me I usually try to get revenge.	2.13	.82
11. I don't mind lying to keep my friends out of trouble with the authorities.	2.35	.88

Cronbach's Alpha=.80

* Scores range from 1 to 4 where 1 means strongly disagree and 4 means strongly agree with the statement. Items 1 through 8 are a subset of Smith and Fogg (1979).

** These items are coded reversely.

Table 4
Factor Analysis of Perceived Benefits of Smoking
(n=7,689)

Smoking...	**Factor 1** **Benefits**	**Factor 2** **Positive Social Image**
helps people relax.	.84	
helps reduce stress.	.84	
helps people feel more comfortable in social situations.	.81	
helps people keep their weight down.	.57	
helps people forget their worries.	.75	
cheers people up when in a bad mood.	.76	
makes people feel more self-confident and sure of themselves.	.69	
makes people look more grown up.		.83
makes people look tough.		.85
makes people look sexy.		.83
is enjoyable.		.61
Variances	53.82%	12.52%
Eigenvalues	5.92	1.37
Cronbach's Alpha	.90	.84

Factor scores are from Varimax rotation.

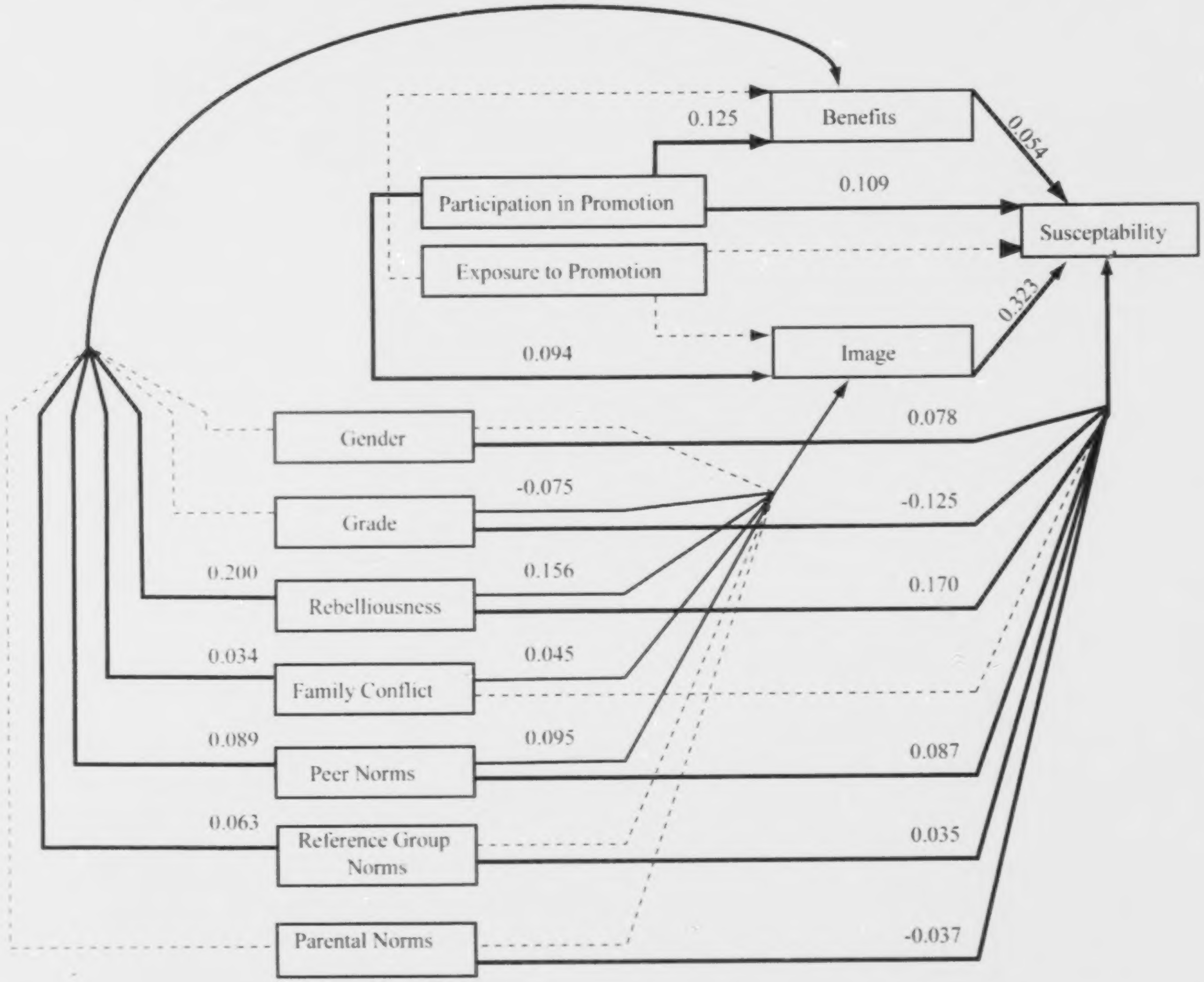
Table 5
Direct and Indirect Effects of Selected Variables on Susceptibility, Ranked by Magnitude*

** Positive Social Image--Direct Effect		0.323
Rebelliousness--Direct Effect		0.170
Indirect Effect Through Image		0.050
Indirect Effect Through Benefits		0.011
	Total	0.231
Participation in Promotion--Direct Effect		0.160
Indirect Effect Through Image		0.030
Indirect Effect Through Benefits		0.007
	Total	0.197
Peer Norm--Direct Effect		0.087
Indirect Effect Through Image		0.031
Indirect Effect Through Benefits		0.005
	Total	0.123
Gender--Direct Effect		0.078
Indirect Effect Through Image		n/s
Indirect Effect Through Benefits		n/s
	Total	0.078
** Perceived Social Benefits--Direct Effect		0.054
Reference Group Norm--Direct Effect		0.035
Indirect Effect Through Image		n/s
Indirect Effect Through Benefits		0.003
	Total	0.038
Family Conflict--Direct Effect		n/s
Indirect Effect Through Image		0.015
Indirect Effect Through Benefits		0.002
	Total	0.017
Parental Norm--Direct Effect		-0.037
Indirect Effect Through Image		n/s
Indirect Effect Through Benefits		n/s
	Total	-0.037
Exposure to Promotion--Direct Effect		n/s
Indirect Effect Through Image		n/s
Indirect Effect Through Benefits		n/s
	Total	n/s
Grade Level--Direct Effect		-0.125
Indirect Effect Through Image		-0.024
Indirect Effect Through Benefits		n/s
	Total	-0.149

* Only significant coefficients are used in these calculations. Non-significant coefficients are indicated by n/s.

** Neither positive social image or perceived social benefits have indirect effects.

Figure 1. Path Analysis of Participation in Promotion and Exposure to Promotion on Susceptibility



Benefits
0.125
0.054
Participation in Promotion
0.109
Susceptability
Exposure to Promotion
0.323
0.094
Image
Gender
0.078
-0.075
Grade
-0.125
0.200
0.156
Rebelliousness
0.170
0.034
0.045
Family Conflict
0.089
0.095
Peer Norms
0.087
0.063
Reference Group Norms
0.035
Parental Norms
-0.037

Note: Solid lines represent significant effects. Dotted lines are insignificant (and unreported) effects.

123

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Adv

Running head: SMOKING IN THE NEWS

Smoking in the News:

Intermedia Agenda-Setting and the Anti-Tobacco Advertising Campaign

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Abstract

Smoking in the News:

Intermedia Agenda-Setting and the Anti-Tobacco Advertising Campaign

Advertising's influence on news agendas has largely escaped scrutiny. The purpose of this paper is to discern the impact of controversial public service advertising campaigns on editorial space by examining the anti-tobacco campaign from the American Legacy Foundation and its effect on *The New York Times'* coverage of tobacco issues. Contrary to conventional wisdom and previous research, a content analysis revealed no significant variation in the prominence of tobacco-related stories based on whether the stories ran before, during, or after the launch of the foundation's campaign.

Smoking in the News:

Intermedia Agenda-Setting and the Anti-Tobacco Advertising Campaign

In November 1998 tobacco companies and state attorneys general agreed on the largest legal settlement in U.S. history. Among its stipulations, the deal required the leading U.S. tobacco companies to pay more than $206 billion to 46 states and the District of Columbia; to cease advertising through outdoor billboards, transit ads, merchandise with brand-name logos, and cartoon characters; and to fund a national foundation to run anti-tobacco advertising programs (Torry, Schwartz, Melton, Miller, and Timberg, 1998).

That foundation became the American Legacy Foundation, supported by $300 million a year in tobacco money and charged primarily with spending that money on ways to reduce youth smoking rates (Teinowitz, 2000b). Although of a public-service nature, the advertising component of the campaign is unique in that the foundation and its agencies are not dependent on the generosity of the broadcasters and publishers to supply them with airtime. With those millions of dollars they will be able to pay for airtime, leading to more prominent placement for the ads.

A Web site and television commercials were the first elements of the anti-tobacco campaign, in which teenagers participated directly in developing the concepts to be used. The campaign, which was launched February 4, 2000, will eventually consist of radio commercials, print ads, a summer meeting for young people, and a traveling tour, in addition to the Web site (www.thetruth.com) and television commercials—forming "the largest single national anti-smoking initiative." (Elliott, 2000).

Although six networks had agreed as of the February 4 launch to air one or more commercials from the campaign, the Big Three broadcast networks—ABC, CBS, and NBC—balked at concepts submitted by the advertising agencies working for the foundation (Teinowitz and Goetzl, 2000).[1] And this was after the campaign was toned down, following orders from Washington state Attorney General Christine Gregoire, head of the American Legacy Foundation board, who was "concerned about taste" (Teinowitz, 2000a). Just one week after the ads first aired, two were pulled permanently after a meeting with tobacco company attorneys, who claimed the ads violated an agreement barring "vilification" of the tobacco companies in the foundation's campaign (Teinowitz, 2000b). Other ads, less objectionable to the tobacco interests but still controversial, remain on the air.

Foundation officials deny any violation of the agreement between the parties, but tobacco companies and Michael Easley, North Carolina Attorney General and gubernatorial candida "complained that the 'Truth' spots were in defiance of the spirit and even the letter of that agreement" (Teinowitz, 2000b). Such claims suggest that the foundation or its agencies knew the commercials would be controversial and perhaps even planned for them to be pulled.[2] Th would not be the first. Controversial campaigns in the past have been accused of similar tactics, perhaps most famously Calvin Klein.

After Calvin Klein Inc. ended its infamous 1995 campaign that many said resembled child pornography, *Advertising Age* discovered that the ads were due to stop running anyway, although the company had said they would have run at least another month in lieu of the decision to take them out of circulation. In an analysis by Valentine Radford, an advertising agency in Kansas City, Missouri, the name "Calvin Klein" turned up just 10 times in *USA Today*, *The Washington Post*, *Los Angeles Times*, and *Chicago Tribune* from August 7 to 13. The same analysis for August 21 to 27, after the controversy arose, revealed 36 mentions of the name (DeCoursey, 1995).

The public relations value of such an action has not escaped the notice of other manufacturers and retailers. Brands such as Benetton and Abercrombie and Fitch benefit from controversy, adding free publicity to that which they pay for. But could it work for a non-profit venture such as the American Legacy Foundation's anti-tobacco advertising campaign?

The purpose of this paper, then, is to discern the impact of controversial public service advertising campaigns on editorial space. This study's focus is the anti-tobacco campaign from the American Legacy Foundation and its effect on the profile of tobacco issues in *The New York Times*.

Literature Review

Although scholars have devoted themselves to related topics regarding the influence of one type of media, one publication, or one broadcast on another, advertising's influence on news agendas has largely escaped close scrutiny. The topic of this study merits attention specifically because of its significant additional applications based on its legal mandate and public-service nature.

Four influences affect news agendas: societal structure, real-world indicators, news events, and gatekeepers and influential media (Rogers and Dearing, 1988).[3] This study expounds on the last of the four, the influence of one medium on the agenda of another, or intermedia agenda setting. Intermedia agenda-setting research emerged from the original agenda setting study, in which McCombs and Shaw (1972) found not only that coverage of campaign issues across several publications and broadcasts was highly similar, but also that it appeared to affect what the public deemed important. More than 200 studies followed (Lopez-Escobar, Llamas, McCombs & Lennon, 1998).

Subsequent exploration has moved from determining the role of media in shaping the public's agenda to looking at how news media affect each other's agendas. Several researchers have examined the editorial decisions of Mr. Gates, a news editor, over decades. The original case study, re-examinations, and a recreation illuminated the relationship between wire services and daily papers, and highlighted the existence and extent of intermedia agenda setting in this context (White, 1949; Snider, 1967; McCombs and Shaw, 1976; Hirsh, 1977).

Looking beyond wire services, Reese and Danielian (1989b) looked at elite media leadership, examining how media decision makers look to those media they perceive as leaders to guide their own agendas. Focusing their attention on network broadcast news, news magazines, and leading newspapers, Reese and Danielian found that *The New York Times* took the lead in coverage, based on a quantitative content analysis, and that other venues followed that lead. Other news media would sometimes take the lead, however, and at other times all coverage would virtually converge. The authors determined these cycles of convergence to be based less on real news events and more on intermedia agenda setting (Reese and Danielian, 1989a).

Most research examining intermedia agenda setting has concentrated only on the effects of one news medium on another. Roberts and McCombs (1994) expanded this line of research to look at the effects advertising had on news media agendas. The 1990 Texas gubernatorial election between Republican Clayton Williams and Democrat Ann Richards "was hotly contested and produced a great deal of news coverage and large political advertising budgets" (p. 251), creating opportune circumstances for looking at the intermedia influence political advertising could have.

Content analysis was done for political advertisements aired by both sides on the NBC, ABC, and CBS affiliate stations in Austin, Texas, and campaign stories on the same stations' newscasts and in the *Austin American-Statesman*. Cross-lagged correlation analysis revealed that televised political advertising was an influence on the television news agenda and, less strongly, on the newspaper agenda. Roberts and McCombs interpreted this to mean that the agendas of political candidates, which the television ads represent, can influence how those campaigns are covered.

Those in charge of public service campaigns would no doubt like to have the same influence. Some research has shown that people prefer receiving messages that communicate risk in newsprint columns to public service announcements (Chipman, Kendall, Slater, and Auld, 1996). Participants in that study specifically mentioned the benefits of receiving the information from a trustworthy professional and seeing sources cited. Surveys of consumers in the mid 1990s by the Food Marketing Institute confirmed the importance of the media in shaping public opinions on controversial topics including pesticides on foods by revealing the concerns raised by massive coverage of the issues (Opinion Research Corporation, 1994).

The media do not always act as health educators would hope, of course. "Despite the potential for health education through the popular media, previous studies have documented minimal coverage of tobacco-related diseases including cancer (Kessler, 1989; Weston and Ruggiero, 1985; Whelan, 1995)," wrote one group of health communications researchers (Hoffman-Goetz, Gerlach, Marino, and Mills, 1997). Many have suggested that this can be blamed on the influence of tobacco companies, who advertise in many publications. As stated Weis and Burke (1986):

> Evidence compiled by journalists, health officials, and public health scholars over the past several years strongly supports the contention that the obtrusive influence of tobacco advertisers precludes effective utilization of the media, particularly print, to present the health risks that are associated with smoking. This should not come as a surprise or an affront to free press advocates, since private industry has both a right and a duty (to owners, shareholders, etc.) to exact maximum benefit from its advertising budget. If both print space and editorial influence can be bought with the same

> "advertising" dollar, then it behooves the tobacco industry to bargain for that combination that yields the highest return. (p. 59)

Perhaps it "should not come as a surprise or an affront," but perhaps similar tricks of the trade should be tried to counter the ones used for years by the tobacco industry. If one type of organization can use their influence as an advertiser to gain favorable editorial coverage, it makes sense that the other side should give as good as it gets. This study aims to determine through content analysis if the American Legacy Foundation's anti-tobacco campaign has gained attention from the press for its cause through its controversial advertising and marketing materials.

Accordingly:

RQ1: What is the impact of a controversial public-service television advertising campaign on newspaper editorial space dedicated to the same issue?

Method

Data for the content analysis were obtained from *The New York Times*. This newspaper w chosen because of its leading position among U.S. media, as noted by Reese and Danielian (1989b). Looking at only one newspaper limits the sample size and the ability to generalize from the results, so the choice of a paper shown to be the leader of other news media agendas limits this bias.

The unit of analysis was the newspaper article. Articles were selected through a LEXIS-NEXIS database search using the keywords "tobacco," "smoking," and "cigarette." Test searches adding other terms such as "smoker" or "antitobacco" turned up no additional articles for use in the study, so the search terms were limited to the first three. Articles were selected for analysis if their full text contained one or more of the three keywords. The search included only editorial content, no advertisements or advertising supplements, and included all editorial content in each edition of the newspaper.

Stories published January 24, 2000, through February 25, 2000, were included, yielding a total sample of 184 articles. Those dates were further divided into three periods: January 24 through February 3 (56 articles), February 4 through 14 (56 articles), and February 15 through 25 (72 articles). These dates were chosen based on the dates on which the American Legacy Foundation campaign was unveiled (February 4) and some of its commercials permanently pulled off the air (February 14). This period of 11 days forms the center time period in the study. The 11 days preceding and following this period were also examined for context and comparison. Equal time periods were chosen to facilitate comparisons and to avoid having one time period weigh more heavily in the analysis than another.

The short amount of time included in each period and within the study as a whole could prevent agenda setting effects from being seen (Winter and Eyal, 1981). However, analysis of longer time periods would likely hide the specific effects that this study sought to illuminate. The three 11-day periods were the divisions most likely to reveal any effects – or emphasize a lack of them – resulting from the foundation's controversial television advertising campaign. Studying the campaign at its inception also provides the opportunity to explore the results of this new type of public service campaign immediately as they appear.

Once the articles were identified, those in which the keyword related to something other than tobacco were removed from the sample. The articles removed from the sample were primarily those in which the word "smoking" appeared. In some instances the term referred to marijuana or crack cocaine use, or was used as an otherwise unrelated adjective. Examples of this include "smoking jam session" and "heat until smoking." Articles in which smoking a non-tobacco product was compared to or contrasted with smoking a tobacco product were kept in the sample because they also referred to tobacco.

Articles in which the keyword was not an integral part of the article's story were also eliminated from the sample. These articles comprised stories in which mention of tobacco, smoking, or cigarettes was merely descriptive and not indicative of tobacco-related coverage. Examples of keyword use in these articles include restaurant reviews announcing the smoking policy and art, film, or theater reviews describing a scene viewed by the critic. This reduced to 87 the number of articles in the final sample—29 in the first 11 days, 22 in the next 11 days, and 36 in the last 11 days.

The remaining articles were analyzed to determine the amount of tobacco-related coverage before and after the campaign's launch and after two ads were pulled from the air. Each article was first coded for the date on which it was published (grouped into the three groups explained above), then for whether the keyword was of major or minor importance to the story. Only stories in which tobacco was the key focus were considered part of the "major" category. Each article was also coded for its length in number of words, whether its headline included one of the keywords or a derivative (e.g., "smoker" or "antitobacco"), and its section and page number, as tests of the importance assigned to tobacco and tobacco-related issues in editorial coverage.

Results

Using the time period in which each article was published as the independent variable, crosstabulations were run using each of the other variables as a dependent variable. The number of articles included in each category is listed first ("N") followed by the column percents ("percent"), showing the percentage of articles in each category of the dependent variable that were published in the corresponding time period.

Table 1 shows the results of a crosstab evaluating the importance of the keywords within the story based on publication date. The importance of the keywords in the articles was not significantly related to the publication dates of the articles according to a chi-square test ($p > 0.05$).

Table 2 is the crosstab for word count by date. Each of the four categories of the word count variable represents a quartile of the total sample. Twenty-five percent of articles had fewer than 318 words, 50 percent fell below 762 words, 75 percent fell below 1089 words, and just 25 percent had 1089 words or more. A chi-square test showed no significant differences between any of the categories by publication date (p > 0.05). The length of stories using tobacco-related keywords was not dependent on the time period in which the articles were published.

The relation between publication date and whether an article included in its headline one of the keywords or a variation is shown in Table 3. The crosstab and chi-square test revealed no significant differences in the dependent variable based on change in the publication date (p > 0.05). Whether an article's headline included one of the analyzed keywords was not dependent on the article's publication date.

The last table, Table 4, illustrates the relationship between an article's publication date and its location within the newspaper: the front page ("Sec. A, p. 1"), another page of section A ("Sec. A, not p. 1"), the front page of an inside section ("Other sec., p. 1"), or any other area of the paper ("Other"). Results of the crosstab and chi-square test showed no significant difference between the categories for article location based on publication date (p > 0.05). The prominence of the articles' locations in the newspaper did not depend on publication date.

Discussion and conclusion

Conventional wisdom and previous research on agenda setting might suggest that a controversial advertising campaign would garner more editorial coverage for the issues associated with the campaign (Brady, 1995; Roberts and McCombs, 1994). However, this study found no effect from the American Legacy Foundation's controversial anti-tobacco campaign on editorial space devoted to tobacco and tobacco-related issues in *The New York Times*. No significant differences were revealed in the prominence of such issues, as measured by article length and location, and the use of tobacco-related keywords in headlines and stories, before, during, or after the campaign's launch.

The surprising nature of these results suggests the need for further research. The legally mandated nature of the American Legacy Foundation and its advertising campaign is unique, but it might not be alone for long. If deemed a success in solving the sticky issues between the government and industry, it could become a useful alternative. Similar legal settlements could occur with other industries involving public health risks, such as the handgun industry, leading to more foundations responsible for spending industry's own money against it. All sides need to understand the ramifications of such an arrangement and fully evaluate its usefulness and success.

To further such an evaluative effort, this study could be expanded to examine a larger sample of editorial content from various news media. *The New York Times* is just one newspaper among many in this country — and even around the world — that would be worth studying for their coverage of views expressed in public service announcements. And although *The New York Times* plays a prominent role in setting the agendas of other news media, it is not the only factor in those decisions. Effects might be seen in other media that are not apparent here, giving advertising practitioners a better view of the overall results of public service campaigns.

Creating controversy is one way many companies and other organizations try to obtain news coverage, and its apparent ineffectiveness in this situation begs the question, When does it work? Research into other controversial public service campaigns to determine how much editorial content they may have inspired would create a more detailed context in which the results of this study can be understood. A deeper look at the nature of the American Legacy Foundation campaign and a comparison with others that have been followed by more related news coverage would help advertising practitioners see how to get more for their money.

Additionally, analysis of the articles in this sample for specific content related to the advertising campaign could be revealing. An in-depth rhetorical analysis of the articles looking for mentions of the campaign or shared language would give a clearer picture of the influence of the advertising on editorial content throughout the lifespan of the campaign. Extending the time period under analysis could also highlight any lag in effects from the campaign.[4]

Advertising's role in setting the news agenda is an underexplored area that deserves more attention. This study found no influence from controversial ads on editorial content, but more scholarship on the topic is necessary. All sources behind the news deserve a high level of scrutiny, advertising as much as more traditionally recognized ones.

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Footnotes

[1] The American Legacy Foundation campaign was awarded to a consortium of 9 advertising agencies, most notably Crispin Porter & Bogusky in Miami and Arnold Communications, a unit of Snyder Communications, in Boston.

[2] "'It was created to catch the attention of adolescent viewers. That may make a few people uncomfortable,' said Anthony Farina, press secretary for Delaware Gov. Thomas Carper, a member of the foundation's board," about the campaign (Teinowitz and Goetzl, 2000).

[3] Reese and Danielian (1989a) suggest adding a fifth category for "influences from sources who seek to purposefully influence media agendas" (p. 64).

[4] Winter and Eyal (1981) suggest that at least four weeks are needed to see effects in agenda setting research.

Table 1

Importance of keywords in articles by publication date

	Major importance		Minor importance	
	N	percent	N	percent
Jan. 24 – Feb. 3:	10	35.7	19	32.2
Feb. 4 – Feb. 14:	7	25.0	15	25.4
Feb. 15 – Feb. 25:	11	39.3	25	42.4
Totals	28	100	59	100

X = 0.115, p > .05

Table 2

Word count in articles by publication date

	Fewer than 318		318 – 761		762 – 1088		More than 1088	
	N	percent	N	percent	N	percent	N	percent
Jan. 24 – Feb. 3:	8	36.4	8	34.8	8	36.4	5	25.0
Feb. 4 – Feb. 14:	6	27.3	3	13.0	5	22.7	8	40.0
Feb. 15 – Feb. 25:	8	36.4	12	52.2	9	40.9	7	35.0
Totals	22	100	23	100	22	100	20	100

X = 4.699, p > .05

Table 3

Keyword(s) in headline by publication date

	Keyword(s) in headline		No keyword in headline	
	N	percent	N	percent
Jan. 24 – Feb. 3:	9	39.1	20	31.3
Feb. 4 – Feb. 14:	6	26.1	16	25.0
Feb. 15 – Feb. 25:	8	34.8	28	43.8
Totals	23	100	64	100

X = 0.652, p > .05

Table 4

Articles' location in newspaper by publication date

	Sec. A, p. 1		Sec. A, not p. 1		Other sec., p. 1		Other	
	N	percent	N	percent	N	percent	N	percent
Jan. 24 – Feb. 3:	0	0.0	10	40.0	4	33.3	15	32.6
Feb. 4 – Feb. 14:	2	50.0	3	12.0	5	41.7	12	26.1
Feb. 15 – Feb. 25:	2	50.0	12	48.0	3	25.0	19	41.3
Totals	4	100	25	100	12	100	46	100

X = 6.785, p > .05

What the Real World Really Wants:
An Analysis of Advertising Employment Ads

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What the Real World Really Wants:
An Analysis of Advertising Employment Ads

ABSTRACT

This study examines changes in employment ads for advertising professionals. The researchers analyzed content of employment advertisements published in *Advertising Age* and posted on HotJobs. Differences were found both over time and between offline and online sources. Increases are seen in the demand for both computer skills and people skills such as being a team player. Advertising educators must adapt to technological change, but the classroom should not emphasize technology at the expense of interpersonal interaction.

Change is a central theme of many academic papers, professional conferences, and news media. Whether technological, organizational, or social, change is sweeping around us. Among the effects of change for educators is an ever-increasing interest among students, parents, and employers in how well university programs prepare students for the job market. Although everyone in higher education seems to be aware of this increased emphasis, it is particularly acute in professional schools where preparation for the job market is implicit in the mission.

Many educators respond that our programs must do far more than prepare students for the world of work and for their first jobs. Sandage (1972) argued that our larger task is to prepare effective citizens with strong habits of mind, skilled in communication and problem solving. While this is essential and (we hope) true, educators cannot ignore the fact that success or failure of our programs will be judged in part by how our students fare in the employment marketplace. While we should rightly refuse to become merely an industry training ground, we ignore the requirements of the employment opportunities of our graduates at our peril.

Given the high profile of employment as a yardstick and the changes in the imperatives for the academy and the priorities of parents and students, the change of the millennium seems a logical time to consider the world of work and to assess the needs employers describe.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Enrollment in advertising programs at colleges and universities in the United States is at an all time high. Ross and Johnson (2000) reported that in 1999 enrollment in advertising programs was up 9.2 percent from the previous year. In the same one-year period, the number of students who graduated from advertising programs rose to 5,454 – an increase of 12.3 percent. But are we providing our students with the skills required by the advertising industry, both for their first jobs and for subsequent ones? The literature on advertising education and advertising jobs addresses these questions in six primary topic areas: employers and jobs, education, experience, skills and duties, technology requirements, and the specifics of applying for jobs. Most of these studies relied primarily on surveys and interviews to assess how colleges and universities are preparing students for work in the advertising industry.

Employers and Jobs

Taylor and Sheehan (1997) reported that many advertising students were unfamiliar with different job titles and types of employers that might hire advertising graduates. According to Donnelly (1994), the top two job categories for entry-level advertising agency employees were in account management (45 percent) and media planning/buying (42 percent). Account managers were more likely to have marketing/business majors while media planners and buyers were more likely to have advertising and/or communication-related degrees. Only nine percent of new hires were in creative jobs and four percent were working in research.

Rust and Oliver (1994) suggested most advertising curricula prepare students for work in advertising agencies – more specifically, for advertising agencies as they were in their "prime" (1950-85) – and focus instruction on advertising in a mass media context. However, they suggested that both of these emphases (agencies and mass media) need to be adapted to reflect changes in the realities of where communicators work and the media through which they communicate. Indeed, not all advertising graduates work in agencies. Other employers of advertising graduates include media outlets (e.g. television advertising sales, newspaper advertising production, etc.) and marketing departments of organizations. As communication industries converge, new and blended forms of advertising-related jobs are also emerging.

Education

Hunt, Chonko, and Wood (1987) surveyed advertising agency executives. They found that 14 percent had advertising degrees, 13 percent had business/marketing degrees, 17 percent had other communication-related degrees such as journalism and speech, and 29 percent had humanities and social science degrees. They found that advertising professionals who had formal academic training in advertising were more successful (based on intrinsic and extrinsic measures of success) than any other group studied. However, Rotfeld (1985, 1994) suggested that the relationship between an advertising degree and an advertising job is not closely correlated and may even be negative. He indicated that the ability to think is a stronger predictor of success than is formal advertising education. In a survey of advertising educators, Lancaster, Katz, and Cho (1990) found most faculty members agreed with the statement that it is more important for students to learn how to think than to learn the specifics of advertising.

Shifts in the educational background of people who work in the advertising business appear to have occurred in the late 1980s and early 1990s. In a 1992 survey of advertising executives, Donnelly (1992) found that marketing/business was the most common undergraduate major (at 33.5 percent this was more than double the percentage reported in the Hunt et al., 1987 study reported above) followed by journalism/advertising (at 22.8 percent this figure was also up significantly from the 1987 study). About 27 percent of respondents also had graduate degrees. The MBA was the most common graduate degree and it was held by about 61 percent of those with graduate education. Applegate (1995) reported that MBAs are more likely to be hired in advertising agencies than are people with a master's degree in communication.

Two recent studies (Deckinger, Bergin, & Donnelly, 1998; Scott & Frontczak, 1996) surveyed advertising executives to determine what courses they expect students to take as part of their undergraduate curriculum. Among the most frequently mentioned were courses in communication, literature, liberal arts, principles of marketing, marketing communication, advertising, consumer behavior, and marketing strategy.

Finally, in a study that focused on the educational preparation of students who want to work on the creative side of advertising, Robbs and Wells (1999) surveyed advertising professors to find what their instructional goals were for both entry-level and advanced creative courses. Respondents indicated that top priorities for the entry-level course were (in order): conceptual thinking, strategic thinking, visual thinking, and idea generation. While the order changed slightly for the advanced course, all these goals remained important to most respondents. Other core goals for the advanced class were portfolio development and copywriting.

Experience

Most individuals finish undergraduate degrees in their early 20s. Thus, they have not had much time to build real-word experience. Yet, the literature suggests that employers do not want to hire new advertising professionals who are completely inexperienced. In a survey of agency creatives, Otnes, Oviatt, and Treise (1995) found that these professionals placed high value on real-world experience and internships when hiring new members of the creative team.

Internships offer an ideal way for students to gain initial experience. In a survey of advertising educators, Lancaster, Katz, and Cho (1990) found most faculty members agreed with the statement that student internships should be part of the advertising curriculum. Perlmutter and Fletcher (1999) found that students also place high value on internship experiences. In a recent survey of advertising, public relations, and other communication students who had completed internships, Beard and Morton (1995) found that some of the most important benefits of those internships were perceived to be acquisition of interpersonal and technical skills.

Internships are not the only alternative for gaining experience. Advertising educators (e.g. King & Morrison, 1998; McMillan, 2000; Taylor & Sheehan, 1997; Treise & Schumann, 1995) have reported on some interesting ways to simulate the real world in the advertising classroom. These include the use of real-life clients for class projects, teaching students to contract with classmates for professional services, teaching capstone campaigns classes, and providing students with professional portfolio reviews.

Skills and Duties

Several studies have focused on identifying the skills that students will need to have in place in order to perform the duties expected of them in the advertising business. Deckinger, Brink, Katzenstein, and Primavera (1989) found that, for the most part, the expectation of recruiters of graduates and the emphasis of teachers of advertising are similar. Among the skills that both groups found to be most important were ambitiousness, ability to keep the big picture in mind, creativity, problem-solving skills, and organization. Employers were also seeking students with a strong grade point average.

Rose and Miller (1993) identified four different factors that represent skills needed in advertising and integrated marketing communication: 1) basic communication skills including writing, design, and principles courses; 2) broader dimensions of communication including cultural diversity, psychology, and history; 3) advanced communication skills such as issues management, consulting, and strategic planning; and 4) advertising-specific skills such as agency management and international advertising. Treise and Wagner (1999) pointed out that it is also important for students to learn to work with people who come from ethnic backgrounds different from their own and to develop advertising campaigns that appeal to culturally diverse markets.

A recent study (Perlmutter & Fletcher, 1999) found that students believed they were fairly well prepared for the marketplace in terms of personal skill such as knowledge of office behavior and understanding the importance of deadlines. However, students perceived themselves to be lacking in knowledge of the business environment and in interviewing skills.

Several recent studies have focused specifically on the skills required for students who hope to work on the creative side of advertising. In a survey of agency creatives, Otnes, Oviatt, and Treise (1995) found that many creatives focused on personal rather than professional development skills that advertising students should learn. These creatives identified specific skills that should be taught in an advertising program, including self-editing, adherence to strategy, working with partners, presenting, and awareness of agency politics. Similarly, Kendrick, Slayden, and Broyles (1996) reported that creative directors frequently mentioned the ability to think as a core skill required in creative jobs.

A study of creative leadership found that copywriters, art directors, and creative directors saw an ideal creative manager as someone who was task-oriented, allowed creatives to do their own work, was respected for his/her own talent, and who recognized and nurtured talent in others. These ideal creative leaders also hire people who work well with others and then help those people create an atmosphere conducive to working (Treise, Otnes, & Oviatt, 1999).

Technology Requirements

Rust and Oliver (1994) stressed the importance of developing a new advertising curriculum that addresses the global changes brought about by communication technology. They noted that the focus of most current curricula is on advertising in a mass media context. They argued that: "The core of the new curriculum must reflect the emerging business realities of the information superhighway. Such new courses might include, 'Interactive Customer

Relationships,' 'The History of the Media,' 'Communicating with Knowbots,' 'Design of Interactive Databases,' 'Awareness Strategies for Interactive Services,' and many others which we cannot currently visualize (p. 76)."

No broad-based studies of the impact of technology on advertising curricula were found in the literature. However, in the related field of public relations, Curtin and Witherspoon (1999) surveyed public relations professors about the importance of technology to their profession. About 54 percent of respondents indicated that computer skills courses are a prerequisite to professional communication programs. The six specific computer skill areas that were perceived as useful for students were (in order): word processing, online information searching, e-mail, desktop publishing, ability to create and maintain a Web page, and statistical analysis programs.

Scott and Frontczak (1996) identified desktop publishing as a key skill that advertising executives expect to find among recent advertising graduates. In a study that examined student demand for technology training, Perlmutter and Fletcher (1999) found that students perceived themselves to be lacking in skills related to both desktop publishing and spreadsheet software.

Sutherland and Stewart (1999) found that the World Wide Web is being used as a tool for delivery of technology training. Several other studies have also reported on the use of the Web as an instructional tool for advertising and related programs (see for example Barnes, 1995; Elasmar & Carter, 1996; Gunarantne & Lee, 1996; Hester, 1999; King & Morrison, 1998).

Ha, Beard, and Kelsey (1998) found that students can readily adapt to technological innovations in the classroom. They found that lack of prior knowledge of specific computer applications did not put students at a disadvantage as long as minimal instruction in the application was given. However, they also warned that educators must not let the technology overshadow the fundamentals of a college advertising education. Soloski (1994, p. 6) echoed this warning: "We need to teach our students how to communicate rather than simply how to use the latest technology of communication."

Applying

Finally, the literature offers information about the processes that students use in applying for advertising-related jobs. Donnelly (1994) found that employee initiative and personal introductions were the leading sources of entry-level employment. Technology is also shaping the way that students seek jobs. According to a recent survey of college students (Cyberatlas, 1999) 82 percent of collegians use the Internet to search for job openings, 66 percent e-mail a résumé to prospective employers, and 55 percent post their résumé through online job services.

Several studies focused on the importance of the portfolio for creative jobs. Robbs (1996) found that creative directors identified strong portfolios as a core requirement for entry-level creative employees at advertising agencies. His study found that portfolios should include strong strategies, powerful ideas, and campaigns for products like those the agency handles.

In a study of creative directors, Kendrick, Slayden, and Broyles (1996) found that one point on which most creative directors agreed is that the portfolio is the ticket of entry to advertising creative jobs. In a follow-up study (Slayden, Broyles, & Kendrick, 1998) creative directors provided specifics of what they expect from student portfolios. Respondents recommended that students should present both roughs and produced materials and that the portfolio should contain samples for multiple media types (e.g. print, radio, television). They also suggested that the portfolio should include campaigns for both multiple product types as well as for service-oriented organizations. When asked how many pieces should be in a student's portfolio, answers range from two to 30, with a mean of about 14. Creative directors reported receiving about one portfolio per day and rejecting about 86 percent of them quickly.

Many of the survey respondents indicated that concepts were more important than execution in portfolio materials.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As previously stated, much of the research related to advertising employment uses surveys and interviews of practitioners, students, and academics to address the preparedness of advertising students for careers in the advertising industry. What is lacking from this body of literature is an analysis of the actual employment requirements for specific jobs and job categories. Looking beyond the first job to the skills an individual needs to build a successful career also appears to be overlooked. A primary reason we undertook this study was to learn more about what the advertising industry expects of it employees at the entry level and for subsequent positions students will hold during their careers. We also wished to examine how those expectations have changed over time. In addition, we wanted to explore ways in which communication technologies may have changed both employers' expectations and employees' job-search behaviors (e.g. use of online services for job postings).

The fist two research questions address issues related to employers, jobs and duties.

RQ1 How have basic job descriptions changed over time?

RQ2 How do job descriptions differ based on print vs. online posting?

The second two research questions address issues related to education, experience, skills, and technology requirements.

RQ3 How have applicant requirements changed over time?

RQ4 How do applicant requirements differ based on print vs. online postings?

METHOD

Much of the knowledge about employment trends that has been acquired to date is based on surveys of potential employers. While surveys can provide an overview of what employers claim to seek in new hires, survey results may not accurately reflect an employer's real needs. For example, Russial (Russial, 1995) compared the priorities for journalism education suggested by managing editors with the skill requirements in employment advertisements and found them quite different. Russial suggested that one reason for that discrepancy was that industry leaders had not yet come to terms with the changes that technology had brought to required job skills. Because of findings like this, we chose content analysis as the best method to explore recent changes in job descriptions and applicant requirements.

We analyzed employment ads in the trade publication *Advertising Age* during two years: 1994 and 1999. *Advertising Age* was selected because it is a leading advertising industry trade publication and it includes employment ads for the entire country, not just a single region.

The first year in which data were collected, 1994, was the year after the Internet first became widely available via online services such as CompuServe and America Online. In 1994, general awareness of this new communication technology was being developed, but the technology had not yet started to have a significant impact on communication practice. The second year in which data was collected, 1999, was the most recent full year of content available at the time of the study. Because it comes five years after the first sample, 1999 is a good year for benchmarking changes that have been introduced with the new technology.

To analyze online employment offerings, we collected data from HotJobs (found online at http://hotjobs.com). A study of online recruiting by Hanrick Associates (1999) ranked HotJobs as a preeminent job-search site. In addition, HotJobs archives its employment listings longer than other similar sites. Thus, in January 2000, the researchers were able to sample 1999 jobs still archived on this site.

Sample Selection

To sample employment advertisements in *Advertising Age*, one issue of the publication was selected randomly from each month for the years 1994 and 1999, for a total of 24 issues of the publication – 12 for each year as recommended by Riffe, Lacy, and Fico (1998). Every employment ad that appeared in each selected issue was coded. A systematic random sampling procedure was used to eliminate the possibility that two succeeding issues of *Advertising Age* would be sampled. This reduced the potential for duplicate cases occurring as a result of employment ads being re-run in subsequent weeks.

To sample employment advertisements in HotJobs, the online data base was searched using the keyword "advertising." No geographic location was specified. This caused the search to return all jobs listed in the United States. HotJobs also offers a "job type" parameter as part of its search engine. The job type selected was "Advertising/Public Relations." Because we were using the keyword "advertising," this focused the search primarily on the advertising jobs within this job type. The search parameters further specified that we wanted to be shown jobs from "any day." This accessed the archives of 1999 jobs as well as current jobs.

This search returned 536 job listings. About 90 percent of the ads were for jobs posted in the last two months of the sample, but archived ads were found for earlier 1999 listings as well. To be consistent with the *Advertising Age* sample we wanted to analyze approximately 25 percent of these ads. The employment ads were reported in a list form. Thus the best sampling method was to examine every fourth job after a random start.

Coding

The coding instrument was based on a skeletal frame described by Rafaeli and Oliver (1998) in which variables in employment ads were distributed among four categories: 1) organizational identification; 2) human resource needs; 3) requirements to fill needs; and 4) contact information. Pilot studies were conducted to fine-tune the coding instrument so specific variables inherent to employment ads for the advertising industry could be coded. In total, 23 variables were coded for this study. Analysis consisted of examining each employment ad and selecting which categorical attributes were present from a list of content units for each variable.

Fifteen undergraduate students were trained in the coding of the advertisements. After a practice session, they reviewed their work with a member of the research team who was able to explain and resolve conflicts, answer questions, and discuss potential problems. After the original coders analyzed all the employment ads, a member of the research team checked intercoder reliability by re-coding a sample of the ads. Using Holsti's (1969) formula, intercoder reliability of .81 was achieved.

FINDINGS

The sampling method outlined previously resulted in 647 employment advertisements for coding. Of these 647 ads, 198 (31 percent) were from the 1994 edition of *Advertising Age*, 318 (49 percent) were from the 1999 edition of *Advertising Age*, and the remaining 133 (20 percent) were from 1999 HotJobs online employment listings. The employment ads differed in terms of the number of employment advertisements in each of the three groups, in their format (display vs. classified), and in the types and depth of information they provided. However, all three sources provided sufficient information about jobs and applicants to allow us to examine the four research questions identified earlier.

Job Descriptions

The first research question asked: How have basic job descriptions changed over time? As detailed above, we chose to compare employment advertisements in *Advertising Age* during two years: 1994 and 1999. In addressing both this research question and research question 2, we considered type of business, type of account, geography, job title, and duties described in the job advertisements. Table 1 outlines job descriptions from both periods.

Chi square analysis of the employment ads from the two years sampled from *Advertising Age* suggests that some significant changes in type of business did occur from 1994 to 1999. This analysis suggests that there was a decrease in "client side" jobs and an increase in media sales jobs and "other" types of jobs (e.g. ancillary firms such as media buying services) during the five-year period. Chi square analysis indicates these differences are significant (χ^2=20.11, p=.0005).

Chi square analysis indicates that there was not a significant change in account categories in the *Advertising Age* employment ads between 1994 and 1999. In both time periods, the employment ads described accounts primarily in four categories: business-to-business, consumer goods, high-tech, and "other." In both time periods, the advertised jobs were primarily for work on national accounts. Additionally, no significant change was found in the descriptions of job titles in the two time periods. The bulk of the employment ads, in both cases, were for jobs with titles specifying creative positions, management positions (usually on the agency side), marketing director/ manager positions (usually on the client side), media sales, and "other."

Table 1

Job Descriptions in Employment Advertisements

		Ad Age 94		*Ad Age* 99		HotJobs 99	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Type of Business +#	Advertising Agency	51	25.8	94	29.6	67	50.4
	Ad Department	79	39.9	74	23.3	39	29.3
	Media Sales	36	18.2	67	21.1	20	15.0
	Other	21	10.6	70	22.0	6	4.5
	Not Specified	9	4.6	13	4.1	1	0.8
Type of Account #	Business to Business	21	10.6	52	16.4	5	3.8
	Consumer Goods	27	13.6	26	8.2	16	12.0
	Direct Marketing	10	5.1	13	4.1	9	6.8
	Healthcare	7	3.5	13	4.1	11	8.3
	High-Tech	20	10.1	47	14.8	58	43.6
	Packaged Goods	5	2.5	7	2.2	6	4.5
	Retail	11	5.6	9	2.8	11	8.3
	Sports	4	2.0	3	0.9	0	0.0
	Other	50	25.3	97	30.5	37	27.8
Geography	Regional	16	8.1	25	7.9	0	0.0
	National	49	24.8	71	22.3	5	3.9
	International	20	10.1	21	6.6	0	0.0
	Not Specified	31	15.7	131	41.2	73	54.9
Job Title *	Account Planning	1	0.5	0	0.0	1	0.8
	Ad Director/Manager/Asst.	1	0.5	3	0.9	4	3.0
	Creative	35	17.7	38	12.0	20	15.0
	Management	24	12.1	50	15.8	30	22.6
	Market Research	9	4.5	17	5.4	3	2.3
	Marketing Director/Manager	31	15.7	38	12.0	10	7.5
	Media Planning/Buying	18	9.1	18	5.7	8	6.0
	Media Sales	42	21.2	95	41.7	19	14.3
	Production	6	3.0	11	3.8	8	6.0
	Other Specified	27	13.6	55	17.3	29	21.8
	Not Specified	1	0.5	6	1.9	1	0.8
Duties *+#	Clerical/Support	8	4.0	12	3.7	9	6.8
	Communication	46	23.2	52	16.3	30	22.6
	Creative Development	34	17.2	44	13.8	31	23.3
	Customer/Account Service	11	5.6	35	11.0	36	27.1
	Production/Traffic	18	9.1	40	12.6	27	20.3
	Sales	28	14.1	69	21.7	28	21.1
	Strategy Development	27	13.6	47	14.8	32	24.1
	Supervision	34	17.2	69	21.7	14	10.5
	Other	24	12.1	61	19.2	37	27.8

* Multiple Responses Allowed

+ *Advertising Age* 1994/*Advertising Age* 1999 comparison significant at <.05

# *Advertising Age* 1999/HotJobs 1999 comparison significant at <.05

Significant changes were found, however, in the job duties described in the employment ads. In the employment ads in *Advertising Age* in 1994, the job duties mentioned most often were communicating with others (either directly, via written communication, or in presentations), creative development (such as copywriting or art direction), and supervising others. These duties were mentioned in about 57 percent of all employment ads. In 1999 *Advertising Age* employment ads, however, the duties mentioned most often were sales and supervision. Communication continued to rank high as well. These three duties were mentioned in about 57 percent of all ads. Both creative development and communication duties were mentioned less often in 1999 than in 1994. Chi square analysis indicates that differences in job duties between the two years were significant (χ^2=77.95, p<.0001).

The second research question asked: How do job descriptions differ based on print vs. online posting? This was operationalized by comparing jobs published in *Advertising Age* in 1999 with jobs posted on HotJobs in 1999. Analysis of these two groups shows several significant differences. Table 1 provides a summary of the HotJobs employment ads in comparison to the *Advertising Age* employment ads in 1999.

Chi square analysis indicated significant differences in the types of businesses advertising in offline and online venues. More than half of the jobs advertised in HotJobs were located at advertising agencies. This dominance of advertising agencies in online job listings was significantly different from *Advertising Age* (χ^2=31.81, p<.0001). There was also a significant difference in the type of account mentioned in the employment ads in HotJobs and *Advertising Age*. Not surprisingly, the employment ads online were dominated by jobs working for or servicing high-tech clients (about 44 percent of all online employment ads). Online employment ads also had fewer accounts described as business-to-business clients than did *Advertising Age*.

No significant differences were found between online and offline ads in terms of either geography or job title. However, ads found in HotJobs frequently did not specify geography. Dominant job titles were the same for online ads as for ads found in *Advertising Age*.

Significant differences were found in the job duties described by *Advertising Age* and HotJobs. While top duties described in *Advertising Age* in 1999 were sales, supervision, and communication (interpersonal, written, or oral), top job duties described in online employment ads were customer and account service, strategy development, and creative development (e.g. web development, art direction or copywriting). Supervising others was rarely mentioned online. Chi square analysis indicated that these differences were significant (χ^2=61.69, p<.0001). Multiple responses were allowed in this category. The online employment ads mention more duties as reflected by the scores of 20 percent or higher in all but two of the categories in this sample of HotJobs ads.

Applicant Requirements

The third research question asked: How have applicant requirements changed over time? Specifically we examined employment ads listed in *Advertising Age* in 1994 and 1999. For both this research question and research question 4, the following were considered to define applicant requirements: education, experience, skills, computer experience, and experience with specific software packages. Table 2 presents the applicant requirements. Significant differences were found over time in *Advertising Age*.

In terms of education, more employment ads in 1999 than in 1994 mentioned the need for the applicant to have a college degree (Bachelor of Science or Bachelor of Arts); chi square analysis indicated that this difference was significant (χ^2=9.54, p=.05). The data also showed that more employment ads required some type of related experience (e.g. "experienced required") in 1999 than in 1994; however, the difference was not statistically significant.

Table 2
Applicant Descriptions in Employment Advertisements

		Ad Age 94		*Ad Age* 99		HotJobs 99	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Minimum Education. +#	BA/BS	37	18.7	98	30.8	62	46.6
	MBA	8	4.0	16	5.0	1	0.8
	Other	2	1.0	3	0.9	2	1.5
	None Required	0	0.0	2	0.6	0	0.0
	Not Specified	149	75.3	199	62.6	66	49.6
Experience #	Required	111	56.0	205	64.5	7	5.3
	Preferred	24	12.1	43	13.5	7	5.3
	Not Necessary	4	2.0	4	0.9	0	0.0
Skills *+#	Communication	93	47.0	172	54.1	63	47.4
	Creative Development	50	25.3	40	12.6	12	9.0
	Customer/Account Service	10	5.1	18	5.7	24	18.1
	People Skills	69	34.9	198	62.3	61	45.9
	Production Traffic	39	19.7	36	11.3	13	9.8
	Sales	50	25.6	64	20.1	19	14.3
	Strategy Development	35	17.7	54	17.0	15	11.3
	Supervision	25	12.6	33	10.4	18	13.5
	Other	58	29.3	126	39.6	77	57.9
Computer Experience #	Required	44	22.2	94	29.6	59	44.4
	Not Specified	154	77.8	224	70.4	74	55.6
Software *+#	Design	23	11.3	31	9.8	13	9.8
	Internet	6	3.0	32	10.0	18	13.5
	Office	18	9.1	61	19.6	32	24.1
	Other	16	8.2	10	3.1	24	18.1

* Multiple Responses Allowed
+ Ad Age 1994/Ad Age 1999 comparison significant at <.05
# Ad Age 1999/HotJobs 1999 comparison significant at <.05

Perhaps most interesting were differences in the applicant skill set mentioned in the ads. In *Advertising Age* 1994, the skills mentioned most often were communication skills (oral and written) which were mentioned in about half of employment ads, and people skills (such as being a team player and being able to multi-task) which were mentioned in about a third of all ads. In 1999, people skills were mentioned almost twice as frequently while communication skills climbed only slightly. The differences seen in 1999 may reflect the need for individuals to be more adaptive to rapid changes in the workplace today.

In 1994, the third- and fourth-ranked skills were sales and creative development skills. Each was mentioned in about one fourth of the ads. In 1999, the third- and fourth-ranked skills were sales skills (mentioned in about one-fifth of all ads), and creative development skills (mentioned in about one-tenth of the ads). Strategy development was a more important skill in 1999 than creative development.

Computer experience was required more often in 1999 than in 1994, but the difference in computer experience between the two years did not meet the required $p < .05$ level of significance ($\chi^2=2.99$, $p=.08$). However, requirements for specific software skills changed dramatically in the five-year period. The need for job applicants to have experience in "office" software applications, such as word processing, spreadsheet, presentation and database software, was mentioned much more frequently in 1999 than in 1994. Chi square analysis indicated that the need for Internet application experience was also mentioned more often; these increases were significant ($\chi^2=18.88$, $p=.0002$). Design software (such as PageMaker, Quark, Photoshop and the like) was mentioned consistently in about 9 percent of all ads in both years.

The fourth research question asked: How do applicant requirements differ based on print vs. online postings? As seen in Table 2, significant differences were found between the *Advertising Age* 1999 and HotJobs listings. Almost half of the employment ads in HotJobs required a Bachelor of Arts or Bachelor of Science degree while less then a third of listings in *Advertising Age* mentioned a BA/BS requirement ($\chi^2=12.2$, $p=.01$). HotJobs listings were less likely than *Advertising Age* listings to use the phrase "experience required." However, as detailed below, HotJobs ads did often require specific experience with computers and software.

Employment ads in *Advertising Age* 1999 and Hot Jobs also differed in terms of skill sets mentioned. About half the online employment ads listed communication skills and people skills (such as team player, leadership) in their ads. In 1999, more ads in *Advertising Age* mentioned people skills than did HotJobs ads, although this was a top-ranked skill in both sources. About one-fifth of HotJobs employment ads required customer/account service skills. This is a much higher percentage than was found in the *Advertising Age* ads. Many high-tech companies have been criticized for serving customers poorly; thus it is not surprising that online ads stress the need for service skills. Strategy development, sales, and supervisory skills were occasionally mentioned in both sources. Chi square analysis indicated that the differences between the two sources in terms of skill sets were significant (χ^2=30.23, p=.0002).

While few of the HotJobs ads used the generic phrase "experience required," they did specify experience in specific computer-related tasks. Almost half of all HotJobs employment ads required computer experience, significantly more than the 30 percent of job listings in *Advertising Age* (χ^2=8.52, p=.003). HotJobs employment ads also mentioned specific software skills more frequently than did employment ads in *Advertising Age*. About one-fourth of HotJobs employment ads specified skills in office-type applications, and more than 13 percent of employment ads required knowledge of an Internet application. Additionally, many other types of applications such as customized databases and multi-media software tools were mentioned in HotJobs employment ads. Chi square analysis indicated these differences between software experience requirements found in *Advertising Age* and HotJobs in 1999 were significant (χ^2=13.56, p=.004).

CONCLUSIONS

Many aspects of society, culture and business have changed since the introduction of the Internet to the public at large. Therefore it could be expected that numerous changes in the advertising industry employment picture might also be evident. This study attempted to observe such changes by reviewing the help-wanted advertisements placed by advertisers, marketers and their agents, and to use this knowledge to develop recommendations for the areas advertising programs need to address in order to prepare graduates properly for careers in advertising. Our findings do not suggest radical change in the skills and knowledge advertising employers seek, but they do advance an agenda for emphasis in the advertising curriculum.

The literature review identified six major themes that have drawn research attention. The first of these was employers and jobs. The literature suggests that students are relatively unaware of employment possibilities outside the traditional advertising agency. If our findings accurately represent the employment possibilities, then only about one quarter to one half of our students will have opportunities at agencies, and only around 10-15% will work on packaged/consumer goods. While the number of employment ads in *Advertising Age* increased substantially between 1994 and 1999, the types of jobs that these ads described were not fundamentally different in each of the two years. Management and creative jobs at agencies and client companies represented the bulk of the jobs listed in the employment ads for both years. The biggest change in jobs described was in the types of accounts served where we saw increases in employment ads for jobs related to business-to-business and high-tech clients. This growth may reflect the growth in business application of the Internet, as well as its power as a business-to-business communication tool. At a minimum, it suggests that we as educators must make sure that we provide information about these varied businesses to our students and help them understand how the "traditional" advertising skills that we teach can be utilized in these burgeoning industries. Students should get this perspective not only from their regular advertising instructors in the classroom, but also from guest speakers, special topics classes or seminars, and classes outside of the advertising program in other disciplines such as marketing.

A second theme in the literature was appropriate educational preparation and the crucial need for the ability to think analytically and conceptually. This is an important reminder of the educational tradition of Charles Sandage and his admonition that we should be training architects rather than bricklayers (1972, p. 166). While there is no reason that we cannot foster critical thinking skills in the context of a professional program, we should also remember that this is the mission of the university as a whole rather than our burden alone.

It is hardly a surprise that in both the literature and our findings employers place great value on experience. Of course, it is rare for a recent graduate to have several years of full time experience in advertising. However, numerous opportunities exist for students to work in a professional environment and develop their portfolios of creative and other types of work (such as media plans, creative briefs, research reports, and the like). For most students the primary experience opportunities are internships and summer employment, yet there are many other opportunities as well. Some programs have student agencies, and many have advertising clubs that do pro bono work. Beyond this, event planning and work for campus media offer broad opportunities. In addition, a host of competitions in marketing, advertising, creative work, direct marketing, and online media offer students exposure beyond the traditional advertising agency environment. Encouraging our students to seek out these opportunities will assist them in building their experience base.

Skills and duties discussed in the literature encompass analytical thinking, communication skills, and specific advertising skills. Our findings suggest changes in types of skills required. Skills such as people skills (e.g. being a team player and leadership), multi-tasking, and organizational ability are best learned in situations such as internships, campaigns courses, and other team project work. As educators, we must learn to assess not only the "product" from these team projects, but also the "process." We need to evaluate how students work as a team, show leadership, and handle multiple projects simultaneously. Traditionally, we rely on peer evaluations to assess the process, but given the importance of these skills in today's workplace, perhaps advertising educators need to participate in both the development of such skills and the assessment of them.

The growth of high-tech jobs may have had some influence on the growth of computer-skill requirements. The employment ads in both *Advertising Age* in 1999 and Hot Jobs feature requirements for computer skills that can be taught to students in various courses, or through a single computer-skills course. The debate on campus about whether computer skills and software applications should be taught and, if so, where and by whom, is not likely to be resolved quickly. But the importance of these skills in today's workplace should not be underestimated. Many of the skills areas identified as important in this study suggest the need for applicants to have both general experience with computers and specific experience with job-related software packages. For example, communication skills include presentation skills, which require some familiarity with software packages such as PowerPoint.

The final theme in the literature was the application process, and it is interesting to note that the literature addresses the creative portfolio almost exclusively. While the portfolio naturally draws attention because it is a departure from the norm, it is also somewhat surprising that the more conventional aspects of the application process have received so little attention in the literature. Most educators advise students about interviewing, cover letters and résumé writing. Guidance is also available from university career or placement offices. However, these vital application techniques don't seem to have received academic analysis. It is interesting to note that even in the digital age cover letters and résumés remain essential. In fact, both were required by 100 percent of the HotJobs listings.

New technologies such as the Internet significantly impact advertising education. Impacts include not only how jobs are advertised but also what types of jobs are available, what skills are necessary to obtain these jobs, and what life-long learning skills will be necessary for those who want to advance in their advertising careers. As educators, we need to be aware of these changes. We must adapt our classes and our programs to make sure that we are preparing our students for what the real world will really want from them.

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Effective COMMUNICATION *of* BRAND EXTENSIONS

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Brand extension is where many branding theories are considered since it requires a company to understand the original brand's positioning, the intended extension category, and various communication strategies. Since brand extension is often a very effective marketing strategy, many scholars have been researching brand extensions, focusing on product development strategies and consumers' basic evaluation process. However, relatively little research has been conducted regarding the communication aspects of brand extensions. The purpose of this paper is to explore core communication strategies of brand extensions. In addition, this paper identifies the consumers' holistic evaluation process regarding brand extension, which may be useful in staging communication strategies.

Classification of Brand Extensions

There are two broadly classified extension categories. One is a line extension, which is a new product within a current product category; and the other is a category extension, which is a new product in a different product category from that currently served by the parent brand. In addition, there are two other extension classifications: close extension and remote extension, which are based on the distance of extension from the parent brand's territory. The brand territory means any area with which a brand is uniquely and strongly

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associated. Therefore, a brand territory can be a mixture of product-related and non-product-related attributes.

Among several studies that further categorized and characterized extension cases, Edward Tauber's seven general strategies of a category extension (Table 1) were used in this research.

Table 1. Tauber's seven general strategies to establish a category extension[4]

1 Introduce the same product in a different form
2 Introduce products that contain the brand's distinctive taste, ingredient, or component
3 Introduce companion products for the brand
4 Introduce products relevant to customer franchise of the brand
5 Introduce products that capitalize on the firm's perceived expertise
6 Introduce products that reflect the brand's distinctive benefit, attribute, or feature owned
7 Introduce products that capitalize on the distinctive image or prestige of the brand

In this research, the seven extension cases of Tauber are more generalized and categorized into four (Strategies 1, 2, 6–feature extension; 5–know-how extension; 3–companion extension; 4, 7–image extension). In addition, these four are further grouped into two extensions of (1) product-related associations (feature, know-how, companion extension) and (2) non-product-related associations (image extension). This is because brand extension is about capitalizing on an original brand's customer-based brand equity, which is based on brand knowledge, mainly composed of product-related and non-product-related attributes. Since every extension is based on several attributes, these classification judgments should depend on the "main" attribute that the extension is primarily based on. Descriptions of this new model for categorizing extension cases can be found in Table 2.

Brand Essence

Among several research efforts on consumer attitudes toward brand extensions, Park, Milberg, and Lawson found differences in consumers' reactions to brand extensions when the extensions lack either (1) product feature similarity or (2) brand concept consistency. With a marginally significant statistical condition, they suggested that concept consistency might have a greater effect on the prestige brand than on the functional brand. In addition, Aaker and Keller[7] argue that the perceived quality of the core brand influences the brand extension evaluations only when there is some basis of fit between the core brand and proposed extension products. They also found that the most effective advertising strategy for an extension is one that emphasizes information about the extension rather than reminders about the parent brand.

Table 2. Classification of brand extensions

Product-related associations extension	Non-product-related associations extension
Product Essence Extension • New products that contain the original brand's distinctive features such as taste, ingredient, or component (e.g., Hershey's chocolate milk) • Know-how extension (e.g., Honda lawnmowers) **Usage Extension** • Companion products Supplement or complement (e.g., Duracell Durabeam flashlights)	**Image Extension** • New products that capitalize on the original brand's personality, user, and usage imagery (e.g., Porsche sunglasses)

However, these research studies do not suggest a process or framework for determining (1) the "basis of fit" consumers use to evaluate brand extensions and (2) specific extension information that needs to be more emphasized for different types of extensions. These issues are related to a major factor on which consumers focus when they evaluate brand extensions. In this research, that factor is assumed to be "brand essence," defined as the deep meaning of a brand in the consumers' mind and life. Every well-known brand has a defined essence. The essence of a brand is the core of brand identity, and typically one from the brand's flagship product.

A flagship product is defined as the product that consumers most closely associate with the original brand, such as shampoo with Vidal Sassoon. Simply put, the brand essence can be referred to as the "-ness" of the brand, for instance, "Cokeness," "Marlboro-ness." Brand essence is the root association set of both product-related and non-product-related attributes. For example, Volvo's brand essence may include "safe" and "car," which are product-related attributes. However, Volvo's brand essence also includes other brand essence such as "high social status," which is a non-product-related attribute.

In summary, brand essence can help us understand the basis of fit because brand essence is the core of brand identity and can consist of both product-related and non-product-related attributes. Accordingly, it would be possible to assume that consumers evaluate brand extensions primarily by evaluating brand essence consistency rather than just product similarity or concept consistency, no matter what kind of extension it is.

In addition, consumers would feel the degree of extension's distance (i.e., closeness and remoteness) by estimating the perceived fit of the original brand essence in extensions. The more remote the extension, the less perceived fit there will be with the original brand associations. Furthermore, very remote extensions would more likely maintain just the original brand's brand essence, and most of the other associations may not make sense. Therefore, the original brand's essence is a required part of both close and remote extensions, but more critical in remote extensions. For this reason, it might be better for companies to explicitly assure the consumers of the existence of original brand essence in the brand extension communications.

Based on these assumptions, it is possible to generate first two hypotheses:

H1: Consumers evaluate a brand extension's closeness and remoteness by evaluating the perceived fit of the original brand essence with the brand extension.

H2: Consumers' attitude toward brand extensions (especially remote extensions) can be improved when the original brand's brand essence cues are used in extension communication contexts.

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Table 3. Examples of attribute dissonance

Positive ——→ *Negative*			
Original Category	*Attribute*		*Extended Category*
Toothpaste	Minty mouth	Toothpaste taste, inedible	Gum
Ice cream	Soft	Sticky	Shampoo
Premium ski	Premium	Overpriced, no skill	Premium cigarette

Attribute Dissonance

Consumers often experience some dissonance between the original brand's attributes and the extended brand's attributes. For example, the softness attribute of facial tissue would be difficult to transfer into bread with the same meaning because the feeling found in facial tissue will not be soft inside the mouth. Also, the softness attribute of bread will result in a dissonance, i.e., the feeling of being greasy on the face, not soft like tissue. If a tissue company wants to extend its brand into the bread category, it would be better to attempt to address the dissonance by stating something like "feel the tasty softness in your mouth," not just saying "feel the softness in your mouth." Although it appears to be minor, the extra word "tasty," which will be referred to as a "dissonance reducer" in this research, might at least address the softness attribute dissonance situation by assuring consumers that the bread is very soft. Table 3 provides some additional examples of attribute dissonance.

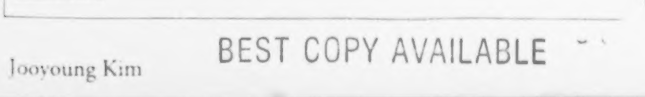
Therefore, when companies want to extend their brands into categories that hold the possibility of negatively transferring the original brands' positive attributes, it might be better for them to avoid attribute dissonance situations by including so-called "attribute dissonance reducers" in extension communication contexts. This assumption generates the third hypothesis:

H3: A consumer's attitude toward a brand extension can be improved by adding attribute dissonance reducers in the extension communication context.

Consumers' Extension Evaluation Process: How Brand Essence and Attribute Dissonance Influence the Evaluation Process

The consumers' brand extension evaluation process generally consists of two basic phases. The initial phase (Figure 1: Stage I, II, III) includes relevance evaluations: consumers process the new information (i.e., brand extension) by evaluating its perceived fit mainly with the original category image, the original brand image, and the extended category image. The final phase (Figure 1: Stage IV) is a competitive benefit evaluation: on the decision stage of purchase, consumers may consider the competitiveness of the brand extension by finding points of parity and difference.

Figure 1. Consumers' evaluation process of brand extension


Original Category image
Original Brand image
Extended Category image
I
Transformed Associations of Extended Brand
Original Brand's Brand Essence
II
Extended Category image
Extended Brand's Hypothetical image
III
Brand Extension Evaluation
IV
Purchase intention
Existing Brands

Stage I

In the first stage, consumers gather any association, often-called "schema," that is based on the original brand and extended category. The schema is defined as a cognitive structure consisting of organized knowledge about situations and individuals that has been abstracted from prior experiences. Thus, consumers retrieve any schema associated with the original brand when they encounter an extension. For example, let us assume that Colgate just introduced its new category extension, Colgate men's underwear. When consumers encounter Colgate's underwear as a new piece of information to process, they start thinking about how Colgate can be related to the underwear product category. In this stage, consumers retrieve schema associated with Colgate and men's underwear. The Colgate schema would include not only Colgate's own associations but also the associations of some general toothpaste imagery. Based on the schema, consumers would have their own transformed and commingled associations of the extended brand such as fresh, minty, teeth, fiber, cotton, sexy, etc.

Stage II

In stage II, consumers compare those transformed associations that resulted from stage I with the original brand's brand essence. As discussed, brand essence is typically derived from the brand's flagship product. If Colgate's flagship product were toothpaste, Colgate's brand essence would be associated with images such as toothpaste, teeth, freshness, cleanliness, and mintiness. From this, consumers may find that the coexistence of Colgate's brand essence and the transformed associations are somewhat puzzling because, for instance, they cannot find any matching point between cotton and toothpaste. Accordingly, this situation may generate an additional attribute dissonance involving expertise in toothpaste and underwear production. From this stage, although there is some attribute dissonance, the extended brand's hypothetical image forms in consumers' minds. The hypothetical image has been filtered from the schema of the first stage and the original brand's brand essence. Back to Colgate's example. In this stage, the hypothetical brand image may be such images as freshness, cleanliness, and doubtful quality due to the dissonance caused by the under-estimation of Colgate's underwear expertise.

Stage III

The last stage of relevance evaluation is to judge the whole fitness of brand extension in its extension category. Consumers think about how well the hypothetical brand image fits into its extension category by feeling the perceived fit of hypothetical brand image and the extended category image. They then finalize their own relevance evaluation. In the Colgate example, the typical imagery of the extension category, men's underwear, might consist of cotton, fiber, dryness, softness, design, sexiness,

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etc. Based on the comparison of these associations and hypothetical brand image, consumers may decide Colgate men's underwear would be somewhat strange to try because they could (eventually) not figure out the attribute dissonance problem and could not find critical matching points of toothpaste and underwear attributes. Thus, the decision would lead to a relatively unfavorable evaluation.

Stage IV (Competitive benefit evaluation)

After the relevance evaluation, which evaluates the perceived fitness of brand extension, consumers then compare the extended brand to other established brands in the extended category. If they find points of parity as well as reasonable points of difference, they experience a heightened intention to purchase. In this stage of the Colgate example, if the underwear was offered at an acceptable discount as a point of difference, the consumers' intention to purchase may go up, although the brand extension evaluation remain unfavorable.

Brand Extension Communication Study

To create appropriate and effective communication strategies for brand extensions, it is good for companies to know their brand extension types (e.g., image/remote extension) and understand the consumers' brand extension evaluation process. In addition, it is better if companies know when and what different brand extension messages should be sent to its consumers for different types of extensions. In their extension positioning study, Aaker and Keller tried to solve a research question: "How are consumer evaluations affected when different types of information are provided in the extension context?" Their research methodology measured attitudes toward four hypothetical brand extensions by differentiating communication contexts through four groups: group 1–no quality cues or attribute elaborations; group 2–quality cues only; group 3–attribute elaborations only; group 4–both cues and elaborations. As mentioned previously, they found that the most effective advertising strategy for an extension is one that emphasizes information about the extension rather than reminders about the original brand. However, their research result does not clearly fit with this study's research questions and hypotheses because of the following: (1) they tested original brands' quality cues, but did not discuss brand essence, (2) they did not consider the extension's closeness and remoteness, (3) they did not classify the extension types, and (4) they tested elaborated contexts, but did not specifically test the effectiveness of attribute dissonance reducers. Accordingly, in this research, these four additional aspects are studied, using their basic research method.

Method

There are four different types of studies in this research: three pretests and an experimental survey. The three pretests were (1) brand association, (2) closeness/remoteness attitude and brand essence correlation, and (3) attribute dissonance focus group. In selecting a test brand, one relatively neutral and well-known brand (Colgate) was chosen to minimize variations from mixing several functional and prestige brands.

Table 4. Top seven brand associations of Colgate

Associations	% of Respondents	
Toothpaste	79%	Colgate's Brand Essence
White	43%	
Teeth	43%	
Fresh	29%	
Clean	29%	
Red	29%	
Tube	29%	

Pretest 1

The brand association test was conducted with a small number of people (15 graduate students) to gather Colgate's salient brand associations (i.e., brand essence) by asking them to give five words associated with Colgate. Table 4 shows the top seven most mentioned brand associations of Colgate. From these seven associations, five most mentioned associations were chosen to be tested as brand essence. In choosing five associations, although "tube" and "red" tied with "fresh" and "clean," tube and red were eliminated from the test because they are more superficial attributes. However, these superficial attributes might be important as visual consistency elements in extensions. Based on the five associations (i.e., brand essence), four hypothetical brand extensions were created to be tested in the experimental survey. They are (1) product essence extension (chewing gum), (2) usage extension (electric toothbrush), (3) medium-level image extension (aftershave), and (4) very remote image extension (men's underwear).

Pretest 2

To verify the correlation between brand essence and closeness/remoteness attitude formation of extensions, the second pretest was conducted. The survey studied how closely subjects (30 college students) felt to those four generic product categories via the five Colgate brand associations. For example, one question asked the semantic closeness of "aftershave" and "clean," without the brand name Colgate. The mean values of the five words' closeness scores toward the four categories are in Table 5.

In this test, the first hypothesis: "Consumers evaluate a brand extension's closeness and remoteness by evaluating the perceived fit of the original brand essence with the brand extension" was partially supported because the average scores of distance

Table 5. Distance scores* between Colgate's brand essence and extension categories

	Electric toothbrush	Chewing gum	Aftershave	Men's underwear
Toothpaste	6 47 (1.07)**	4.07 (1 82)	3 07 (2 07)	1 13 (0 35)
White	4 60 (2.34)	3.33 (1.40)	2 23 (1 77)	5 67 (1 75)
Teeth	6 90 (0 55)	5 87 (1 31)	1 43 (1 04)	1 33 (0 80)
Clean	6 23 (1 30)	3 37 (1 45)	5 57 (1 19)	4 80 (1 77)
Fresh	5 13 (1 72)	5 97 (1 16)	5 97 (1 35)	3 60 (2 04)
Average	***5.86***	***4.52***	***3.63***	***3.30***

* Scale of the closeness/remoteness score 1-7
** Numbers in ( ) Standard deviations

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Table 6. Dissonant attributes and reducers

Extensions	Brand essence	Dissonant attributes	Dissonance Reducers to be tested
Colgate chewing gum	Teeth, freshness, white	Toothpaste taste	Great flavor
Colgate electric toothbrush	Teeth, cleanness, toothpaste	No skill, nondurable	A new technology
Colgate aftershave	Freshness, cleanness	No skill, toothpaste feeling, low symbolic association	Elegant fragrance
Colgate men's underwear	Freshness, cleanness	No skill, not stylish	Newly patented fabric

attitudes revealed that subjects felt the distance of blind extensions by estimating the amount and quality of attributes, which were Colgate's brand essence. If the following experimental research examines subjects' attitudes toward brand extensions by giving them only the brand name (Colgate) and the extension categories, and the results show the same closeness and remoteness pattern, support for the H1 will be increased.

Pretest 3

To study the effects of attribute dissonance reducers, dissonant attributes were researched in a focus group. In this pretest, most dissonant attributes the focus group had were negative aspects of toothpaste feeling and the company's expertise. Table 6 shows those dissonant attributes and dissonance reducers to be tested in the experimental survey for each extension case.

The Experimental Survey

Based on the results of the three pretests, the experimental brand extension communication survey was designed. To compare different effects of communication, it was decided to employ five different communication contexts: (1) no cue, (2) brand essence cue, (3) brand extension attribute cue, (4) brand extension attribute cue + attribute dissonance reducer, and (5) all cues. The dissonance reducers in the cue (4), which were used in the group 3 and 4 (Table 7), were expected to reduce anticipated dissonance from the provided brand extension attribute cues as seen in Table 6. Therefore, subjects in the group 3 and 4 saw mixed two cues as one cue.

Subjects were assigned to one of the other four groups and each group saw the same brand extensions as no-cue contexts, but saw different communication cue contexts. As the first survey question, all groups were asked their overall affinities for the original brand (Colgate) on a scale of 1 to 7 to compare them to extensions. After the initial affinity question, the no-cue tests were conducted in advance, to observe how subjects' attitudes change when they see specific cues after they see no-cue contexts.

Table 7. Description of groups and cues

- Group 1 No cues + (a) brand essence cues
- Group 2 No cues + (b) extension attribute cues
- Group 3 No cues + (c) extension attribute cues + attribute dissonance reducers
- Group 4 No cues + (a c) all-cues

No cues	Cues
Colgate chewing gum	a) For your oral care b) In peppermint flavor with antitartar formula (c) In great peppermint flavor with antitartar formula
Colgate electronic toothbrush	a) From the leader of quality dental care products b) Great plaque remover c) Great plaque remover with a new technology
Colgate aftershave	a) From the maker of freshness b) Soothes and refreshes your skin c) Soothes and refreshes your skin with elegant fragrance
Colgate men's underwear	a) From the maker of clean and fresh personal care products b) Great style in various fresh colors c) Great style in various fresh colors with newly patented fabric that allows for maximum breathability

Table 8. Brand extension attitudes* in different cues

	No Cue (Control groups)	Essence Cue Only	Attribute Cue Only	Attribute Cue + Dissonance Reducer	All Cue
Chewing gum	4.3 (0.68)**	5.0 (1.53)	5.1 (1.36)	5.1 (1.46)	4.9 (1.29)
Electric toothbrush	4.2 (0.58)	4.4 (1.63)	4.8 (1.36)	4.6 (1.24)	4.4 (1.46)
Aftershave	3.4 (0.78)	3.6 (1.44)	3.6 (1.53)	3.5 (1.47)	3.6 (1.61)
Underwear	2.4 (0.59)	2.5 (1.21)	2.6 (1.41)	2.8 (1.19)	3.0 (1.45)
Sample size	120	30	30	30	30

* Extension attitudes are the average of perceived extension quality (1 = inferior, 7 = superior) and intention to buy the extension (1 = not at all likely, 7 = very likely)

** Numbers in ( ): Standard deviations of each attitude

The attitudes toward different extensions and communication cues were gathered from 120 students (56 undergraduate students and 64 graduate students, 30 for each survey) by averaging two main dependent measures: perceived quality and likelihood of trying the extension.[15] Table 7 shows the different groups and cues surveyed.

Results and Findings

As illustrated on Table 8 and Figure 2, the pattern of attitudes toward extensions and communication contexts was consistent. In addition, the overall mean of affinities for the original brand was 4.9, and this was regarded as the overall original brand attitude in this research.

The mean attitudes of no-cue tests were calculated from all groups (n=120) to view overall attitude changing pattern, but each specific cue attitude was compared with each no-cue attitude in each same group to see the in-group attitude changes.

Paired samples t-tests were conducted for each group with (1) no-cue attitudes and (2) specific cue attitudes, to test the in-group attitude changing effects of specific communication cues.

Based on the attitudes and the results of t-tests, there were six main research findings:

1. **Subjects evaluated the brand extensions' closeness and remoteness by evaluating the perceived fit of the original brand essence with the extensions.**

H1 is indeed supported. In this research, it was hypothesized that consumers evaluate a brand extension's closeness and remoteness by evaluating the perceived fit of the original brand essence with the extensions. As we see, subjects' overall average attitudes toward no-cue information were arranged from highest (4.3; chewing gum–product essence extension) to lowest (2.4; underwear–image extension) while the original brand attitude

Figure 2. Attitude changing pattern

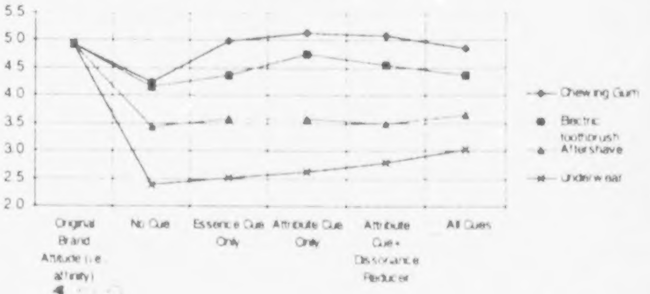

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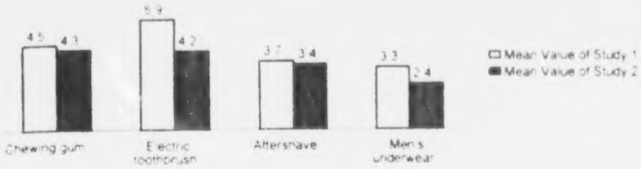
Figure 3. Mean comparison of study 1 and study 2



was 4.9. This result is consistent with the results of the pretest 2 (brand essence and closeness/remoteness correlation study). The exception is the electric toothbrush. A reason for this may be that one of the five words the pretest 2 used, i.e., toothpaste, was much more closely associated with electric toothbrush than chewing gum.

Figure 3 shows the comparison of attitude mean values between the pretest 2 (Study 1: attitudes toward brand essence in extended categories) and the experimental survey (Study 2: attitudes toward extensions). Although these two attitudes were somewhat differently measured, it would be interesting to see how they achieved such similar results. This comparison implicitly supports this research's assumption that consumers evaluate extensions by focusing on brand essence.

2. The effect of using "only brand essence cues" was positive in most extensions, however it was not enough (partial support of H2).

Although brand essence cues were not significantly effective in the electric toothbrush extension case ($t=1.65$, $p>0.1$), they were significantly effective in other extension cases (chewing gum, aftershave, underwear: all $t>2.30$, all $p<0.03$). However, those effects were not sufficient because other cues generated higher attitudes in three extension cases. However, the closest extension (i.e., chewing gum) achieved very high attitude (5.0) ($t=2.30$, $p=0.029$), which is much different from the same group no cue's 4.5 (all group no-cue mean of chewing gum is 4.3).

These results imply that consumers want more information on farther extensions, rather than just brand essence information; however, in close extensions, it seemed that essence information may be sufficient to communicate.

3. The interaction effects of brand essence cues and other cues were not significant.

Though all cue effects were significant (chewing gum: $t=3.52$, $p=0.001$; electric toothbrush: $t=3.04$, $p=0.005$; underwear: $t=2.37$, $p=0.025$), there were no significant attitude differences between group 3 and 4 ($-0.7<$all $t<0.65$, $0.50<$all $p<0.71$). Since the only cue difference between group 3 and 4 was brand essence cue, this result implies that there are no significant interaction effects between brand essence and other cues when they are used together.

Although brand essence is critical in the process of brand extension evaluations, this implication suggests that the essence does not need to be actually "communicated" with other attribute cues because consumers may already find, assume, and link the essence to extensions by presented extension attributes. Accordingly, consumers might not want to be over-communicated. However, as discussed, brand essence cues would be effective when they are used alone, especially in close extensions.

4. In close extension, it seems to be best to communicate extension attribute cues.

In this survey, the close extensions were chewing gum and electric toothbrush. As we see, among the attitudes of these extensions, the highest attitudes were achieved when only extension attribute cues were given (chewing gum: $t=3.33$, $p=0.002$; electric toothbrush: $t=2.85$, $p=0.008$).

This suggests that consumers believe it is enough to know extension attribute cues, and those attributes are proper to be communicated. If other information beyond that is given, it seems that they regard it as over-communication, which results in more negative rather than positive effects.

5. The attribute dissonance reduction hypothesis (H3) was not supported.

Theoretically, in brand extension, attribute dissonance must be reduced. Although group 3 showed significant attitude change when they saw dissonance reducers with extension attribute cues, there were no significant attitude differences between group 2 and 3 ($-0.59<$all $t<0.66$, all $p>0.56$). In addition, although the effect of including dissonance reducers seemed to be more positive than excluding in the underwear extension case (Figure 2), it was also not statistically significant ($t=0.66$, $p=0.512$).

Accordingly, these results imply that companies might not need to attempt reducing attribute dissonance. It seems that consumers can easily self-overcome or overlook dissonance by seeing extension attribute cues. If dissonance reducers were actually used, consumers seem to be stimulated to experiencing dissonance and inducing negative associations.

6. In very remote extensions, it seemed to be better to use all relevant cues.

Consumers seem to be more highly involved in evaluating remote extensions. As seen in Figure 2 and Table 8, when subjects saw all relevant cues, their attitude toward the remotest extension (i.e., men's underwear) went up highest to 3.0 ($t=2.37$, $p=0.025$) from the same group no-cue's 2.4. However, although using all cues seems to be also effective in the medium-level remote extension (i.e., aftershave), it was not very significant ($t=0.40$, $p=0.69$). In addition, although using all cues was effective in close extensions (all $t>3.0$, $p<0.005$), it could not generate sufficiently high attitudes.

These results imply that for extensions that are very far removed, consumers may require the greatest amount of information to provide an improvement in attitude, but for extensions that are not far removed, there should be careful consideration in using all cues.

Summary of Findings and Communication Strategies for Brand Extension

The experimental survey offers six considerations of core communication strategies of brand extensions. Those six considerations can be resummarized into two criteria—recommendations for close extensions and remote extensions (Table 8).

Using these recommendations, and understanding the proposed model of extension classification and the consumers' evaluation process, companies may be able to design more thorough brand extension communication strategies. For example, in

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Table 9. Communication strategy recommendations from findings

In close extensions . . .	In remote extensions . . .
• Brand essence cue is generally effective to use and it would be more effective if it is used alone. (2, 3)* • Attribute dissonance reducers would be ineffective to use. (5) • It would be best to focus on only extension attribute cues. (4) • Do not use many cues: avoid over-communication. (4)	• Brand essence cue is effective to use. (2, 3) • Attribute dissonance reducers would be ineffective to use. (5) • It might be best to focus on all relevant cues if it is very remote extension. (6)

* Numbers in ( ) are the relevant finding numbers of the experimental survey

Stages I, II, and III, there could be three general strategies: (1) address attribute dissonance by protecting negative association transfers and creations, (2) leverage original brand's brand essence, and (3) generate the extended brand's own brand essence, which is strong, favorable, and unique. For strategy 1, the protection method, beyond the dissonance reducer cue, we need more research because the experimental survey revealed that using dissonance reducers was not significantly effective. On the last stage (Stage IV), it is important to assure consumers of the points of parity, and emphasize the points of difference, which are created or intrinsically transferred from the original brand. These transferred points of difference, which need to be emphasized, can be any positive aspects of the original brand such as product quality, customer service, premium attributes, etc.

Limitations and Future Research Issues

This paper has served to contribute to our understanding of the models for brand extension classification and the process of consumers' extension evaluation. In addition, this research has contributed to an understanding of the core communication strategies of brand extensions by suggesting several important considerations resulting from the survey. The experimental survey showed that (1) brand essence should be carefully used (or not used) in communication contexts, although it is a critical factor for consumers in evaluating brand extensions, and (2) dissonance reducers are not very effective to use.

This research suggests some future research issues such as the research on the methods of (1) measuring attribute dissonance and protecting it, (2) measuring the strength of particular brand attributes, (3) measuring the degree of closeness/remoteness, because it will be very important in creating more effective and precise extension communication strategies as well as measuring effectiveness of brand extension communications.

However, in spite of its contributions and future research suggestions, this research has six important limitations that must be addressed. First is the evaluation process of brand extensions. Since the evaluation process has not been empirically tested or proven, its application should be carefully considered. Second, the extension attitude survey did not assess consumers' typical category image, which could give more insights on understanding the first and third evaluation stages. Third, there is a possibility of some research manipulation errors such as order effect because all questions in the survey were in the same order. Fourth, the survey could not measure the pure effect of dissonance reducers since the cues were used with other extension attribute cues. Fifth, the survey simply tested attitudes toward the contents of literal contexts. Since today's communications are integrated in various channels and forms, consumers can have different attitudes toward extensions depending on the amount and quality of different communication methods. Sixth, this research only studied a brand, that has one flagship product (toothpaste). Therefore, other extension cases of brands that have several flagship products or categories (e.g., Yamaha, Sony, 3M, etc.) need more extensive research.

Even though there are some limitations, the results of this research will not only help to contribute to the pool of understanding and knowledge of brand extensions, but will also aid companies in their brand extension marketing communication efforts.

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J. Peterman and *Seinfeld*: Why a Promotional Success Was a Marketing Failure

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J. Peterman and *Seinfeld*: Why a Promotional Success Was a Marketing Failure

Abstract

Despite unprecedented exposure as part of television's most popular show, the J. Peterman Company failed. This paper reviews the Peterman case in light of research on the value of such in-program brand exposures. A set of principles is offered that not only helps explain J. Peterman's missed opportunities but that also serves as a guide to other marketers seeking to arrange and exploit in-program brand exposures, brand (product) placements, and other forms of publicity.

J. Peterman and *Seinfeld*: Why a Promotional Success Was a Marketing Failure

How could an apparently growing retailer, aided by unprecedented exposure on television's highest-rated show, be forced into bankruptcy? Undoubtedly, millions of television viewers (and many advertising strategists) were asking themselves this question during January 1999, after the J. Peterman Company filed for Chapter 11 bankruptcy protection (*Direct Marketing* 1999). The company's demise came shortly after the final episode of *Seinfeld*, the NBC sitcom that dominated network prime time for several years. During 1995-1998, J. Peterman (both the company and the name of its founder) was woven into a number of *Seinfeld* episodes and storylines, becoming what one public relations professional called a "minor legend" (Shivel 1998).

The purpose of this paper is to address the J. Peterman failure in light of recent research on the value of promotional tools such as product (or, brand) placement. First, the beginnings of the J. Peterman Company--and its subsequent inclusion into *Seinfeld*--are reviewed. Next, the conceptual underpinnings of brand placement, and their relationship to character identity, are explored. Finally, some principles are offered that not only help explain J. Peterman's missed opportunities but that also could guide other marketers seeking to arrange and exploit in-program brand exposures.

J. Peterman's Beginning--and End

The J. Peterman Company (JPC) was begun following a trip John Peterman made to Jackson Hole, Wyoming in 1987. While shopping during that trip, Mr. Peterman noticed a particular cowboy duster. The coat was part of the usual fare in the American West, but it was an unusual item to be worn on the streets of New York, Washington or London. Mr. Peterman said he bought the coat because "it said something about me that I wanted said. It said that I don't need to wear something with a logo to show people who I am. It was romantic, different. I found when I wore it, strangers seemed to give me approving glances" (Peterman 1999). Mr. Peterman began his business by attempting to sell the dusters through newspaper and magazine ads. Soon, he would grow the business according to a few underlying concepts: (1) offering unique clothing and accessory items which made strong identity statements for the consumer; (2) omitting any logo or standardized look; and (3) extending this unique look and feel to an unconventional catalog design.

In late 1988, JPC produced its first "Owner's Manual" catalog. For the next ten years, the company would become known within direct marketing circles for setting its own course. The catalogs featured drawings of clothing items (no photographs) and extensive, romantic narratives describing exotic situations and locales. "It rises above the enormous cognitive overload of so many full color photos hyped by so many blocks of descriptive copy" (Rosenfeld 1999). While one catalog consultant stated that "Peterman absolutely violates all traditional rules of catalog marketing," another professional noted that "(Peterman)'s not trying to sell to everyone in the U.S. but just to an upscale, educated group who appreciate his ambiance" (Orr 1996). The company grew quickly. In 1990, sales revenue jumped to $19.8 million from less than $5 million the previous year (Peterman 1999). During 1990-1992, revenue grew at the rate of $15 million a year (Hatch 1996). At the close of 1996 *Target Marketing* named John Peterman its "direct marketer of the year" (Hatch 1996). By the end of 1997, sales had grown to more than $65 million (Kim 1998).

During July 1997, Mr. Peterman hired Arnie Cohen, an experienced retail executive, to implement a growth plan centered on retail expansion in upscale malls. By early 1999, however, the growth plan had backfired; JPC was eventually sold to Paul Harris Stores (PHS) for the bargain-basement price of $10 million. PHS opened its first J. Peterman store in downtown

Indianapolis in September 1999, with new CEO Charlotte Fischer sporting the famed cowboy duster.

The *Seinfeld* Connection

Seinfeld, the NBC sitcom, was conceived and succeeded as a program about "nothing." The show's writers surrounded the characters with real (often quirky) brand-name products, such as Pez, Glide, Snapple, and Junior Mints. JPC and John Peterman were added to this mix in 1995 after "the Peterman catalog caught the attention of the writers at *Seinfeld*, who recognized that the real John Peterman was every bit as zany as the characters" (Kaelble 1999).

J. Peterman quickly became a central and ongoing part of the popular series. To enhance the outlandishness of Mr. Peterman, the writers sent the 'Elaine Benes' character to work for him. During the course of Mr. Peterman's run on the show, Elaine went to an auction and purchased John F. Kennedy's golf clubs (which were destroyed by Jerry's mechanic during a car chase involving a stolen mail truck), ate a 50 year old piece of cake Peterman had purchased (and was caught on Peterman's private office camera), hired Kramer to write body copy for ads (inspiring Kramer to run "the real Peterman" tour in New York), and, while Peterman was having a breakdown in the south Asian country of Myanmar (Burma), designed the most disastrous product of the Peterman catalog, the infamous Urban Sombrero.

JPC received this incredible exposure without "paying" for it in the usual sense of promotion. Mr. Peterman worked in a limited relationship with the *Seinfeld* writers, signing off on scripts, but had no other involvement (Peterman 1999; Shivel 1998). In and of itself, this arrangement was unusual. Television production in the U.S. is fairly restricted as to paid placement activities. Federal Communications Commission (FCC) rules require specific identification of paid placements, and the broadcast networks themselves often attempt to limit brand appearances in shows. However, placements made through a hired agency bypass those policies as well as FCC regulations; a placement agency's fee for exposure on a hit television show typically exceeds $20,000 and can climb much higher (Karrh 1998; Warner 1995). JPC did not even pay agency fees for its exposure on *Seinfeld*.

Executives pushing JPC's growth initiative during 1998 were planning to use paid placements to further promote the company. Arnie Cohen was making plans to tie JPC to several movies that had been released or were due for release by major Hollywood studios. These films included the blockbusters *Titanic* and *The Avengers* (Barnett & Barnett 1999; Stanley 1998).

Opportunities from In-program Depictions

The fact that *Seinfeld*'s creators used the J. Peterman name and image in their program is not unique. Brand names are now widely used in movies, plays, songs, and mass-circulation newspapers and magazines, often to create humor (Friedman 1991). Writers and producers, understanding that brands and companies have assumed a more prominent role in everyday speech, often incorporate these names as creative devices even when they are not paid to do so. Advertisers, for their part, have increasingly forced the issue by sponsoring or attempting to influence these brand appearances. When brands or brand identifiers are included within mass media programming on a paid basis (cash or barter), the practice is known as brand placement (Karrh 1998). Advertisers' successes in shaping social images through popular cultural vehicles has been termed 'reality engineering' (Solomon and Englis 1994); one result of this engineering process is that consumers are more likely to see brand-name products as a natural extension of everyday life. Certainly, the inclusions of J. Peterman within *Seinfeld* should also be considered within the context of that show--one which quite frequently incorporated brand and product names to add mundane realism (Darlin 1995).

What do audiences infer from brand appearances in their favorite shows? Research--conducted almost exclusively among young American movie audiences--suggests that most have a rather positive view. In a survey of 1,012 American college students, Gupta and Gould (1997) found generally positive attitudes toward brand placement. The exceptions occurred for placements of "ethically-charged" products such as alcohol, guns, and tobacco products. The general acceptability of placement was higher for more frequent movie viewers. In many cases, it is not made apparent to audiences whether brands appear in the show merely as a creative device or as the result of a (paid) marketing strategy. "There is…a distinction between brands 'placed' into programming and those simply 'included' in programming. [An] audience may make an incorrect inference as to the intent behind a brand's appearance in programming" (Karrh 1998). In the case of JPC, both the company and the name of its founder were 'included' in the show after the writers came to believe it would fit into the absurdity of the show's story lines.

Brand placement has been found effective in enhancing audience memory for brands, although the link to purchases or purchase intention is less clear (Brennan, Dubas, and Babin 1999; Gupta and Lord 1998; Karrh 1998). In general, the effects on memory are greater when the brand is more prominent within the program (in the foreground versus background, for example), when the brand is mentioned in dialogue as well as presented visually, and when the brand is closely associated with a likable character (Karrh 1998). Clearly, the Peterman inclusions into *Seinfeld* met all of these criteria for success.

What was unique about Peterman's opportunity was both the frequency of its appearances in *Seinfeld* and the prominence of JPC and Mr. Peterman within the show (Mr. Peterman did not himself appear, but rather was played for laughs by the actor John O'Hurley). Unless an advertiser has creative control over the show (a rarity), brand appearances in television programs and movies are typically brief and infrequent. The J. Peterman Company, on the other hand, benefited from hours of cumulative appearances over several years. With the average price tag of thirty-second ads on *Seinfeld* approaching $750,000, JPC was the beneficiary of the equivalent of millions of dollars of prime-time advertising.

Comparing JPC's communication windfall to the cost of traditional broadcast advertising may actually understate the company's opportunity. Research suggests that brand appearances within movies and television programs can be more persuasive than stand-alone commercials (Karrh 1998). Consumers' memory for brands in appearing in movies, for example, is generally stronger than their memory for brands in print or broadcast advertising (Babin and Carder 1996). Consumers are less likely to perceive such brand appearance as an attempt at persuasion, compared to traditional media advertising. Perhaps most importantly, brand placements offer advertisers a superior opportunity to pair their brands with characters and their identities (Karrh 1998).

This last point was crucial for JPC. The company had a forum for generating greater attention from a larger audience at less cost than its leadership could have imagined. Further, an engaging show such as *Seinfeld*, with well-known characters, offered the company a superior forum for conveying identity--if it could move opportunistically. This substantial opportunity carried with it a burden. The leadership of J. Peterman needed to understand the company's own identity and meaning before it could effectively capitalize on the ongoing *Seinfeld* opportunity.

The Curse of *Seinfeld*?

While *Seinfeld* presented a great opportunity to JPC, inclusion in the show did not guarantee marketplace success. After being featured (to varying degrees) in the sitcom, a number of popular brands actually suffered in the marketplace: Kenny Rogers Roasters, which was forced into bankruptcy; Levi's jeans, whose sales fell by nearly $1 billion in one year; Snapple iced-tea drinks, which was purchased by Quaker Oats for $1.7 billion in 1994 and sold for just $300 million in 1997; and the $7-billion breakfast cereal industry, which saw sales declines of $800 million over three years (Warshaw 1999).

Was *Seinfeld* really a curse for popular brands, or a potential fountain of publicity? A brief *post hoc* analysis of some of these cases suggests that *Seinfeld* at least offered an opportunity. Consider, as one example, the case of Kenny Rogers Roasters (KRR). The restaurant enjoyed more than 11 minutes of exposure in an episode where the 'Kramer' character is bothered by the restaurant's bright neon sign. KRR management was so thrilled to be on the show, they even sent design and construction personnel to the *Seinfeld* show in order to help with the placement of the store on the set. Patrons at New York City KRR restaurants were overheard commenting that "Kramer's right!" about how delicious the chicken was. KRR's problem came not from the show but rather from its competition with Boston Market restaurants, which already had an established reputation for good food at a reasonable price (Jacobs 1996).

Other brands included on *Seinfeld* enjoyed increased notoriety as well as reported sales increases. Pez and Junior Mints candies, Glide dental floss, Saab automobiles, and even Calvin Klein apparently received substantial benefit from their roles on the show. As one business writer observed, "I mean, 37 million people hear the name (Peterman) on *Seinfeld*. When a Peterman episode runs on *Seinfeld*, do sales go up the next day? No. Does it raise name recognition? Yes. Will it make a difference later on? Yes" (Hatch 1996). Rather than a 'curse,' the *Seinfeld* opportunity presented JPC management a one-time window for positioning the Peterman brand to a mass market.

Blunders Elsewhere

Management attempts to grow JPC were hurt by mistakes along two fronts--an overly aggressive retail expansion and blunders in using mailing lists. In 1998, after the series finale of *Seinfeld*, Mr. Cohen announced a plan to open 50 full-priced retail stores (averaging 4,500 square feet), along with 20 outlet stores, over a five-year period. Under Mr. Cohen's direction, JPC "set [its] sights on identifying the top 30 markets in the country" and locating a store in each of those upscale areas to match the catalog customer profile. The stated retail objective of JPC was to capture the spirit of the catalog, but with extensive merchandise differences. The focus [was] on "selling more one-of-a-kind items that people would want to see and feel before making a purchase." Company projections, once the 70 retail sites were up and running, called for $200 million in annual sales (Levine 1998). A successful retail operation would not come easily, since JPC was essentially starting a new brand: "some of the unusual items that gave the store its character, such as a $12,500 silver tea service sitting out on a table, could not be replicated in 50 stores" (Orr 1999).

The plan was not to only move the company toward a retail expansion strategy. JPC still expected to send out 15 million catalogs annually and generate revenue from international sales (Brauer 1998). But, as one competitor admitted, "It's hard to translate the fantasy that Peterman portrays in the catalog's copy to the merchandise itself. And that fantasy is further diminished when transferred into a physical retail environment" (Oberndorf 1999).

JPC needed cash from its catalog operation to support this expansion, but problems were becoming apparent there as well. In the early days of the company, Mr. Peterman claimed to have sold 2,000 cowboy dusters to "a mysterious gentleman in Japan" (Hatch 1996). This may have been John Peterman's inspiration to attempt an expansion into the Japanese market. Ultimately that expansion failed because JPC ignored the rules of direct-mail marketing in a foreign country (Yorgey 1998). As Mr. Peterman later admitted, "…we didn't bother to test the mailing lists we rented. Thousands of Japanese people who had no interest in buying clothes through the mail received our catalog. It was a debacle. The cost of mailing to Japan is four times more than in the United States, and in the end we lost about $400,000" (Peterman 1998). In the midst of its defining opportunity with *Seinfeld*, then, JPC was running into problems of its own making.

Could Better Marketing Communication Have Saved JPC?

By 1998, after three years of nearly continuous exposure on Seinfeld, it was clear that the program was providing a wonderful platform for the company. According to a number of sources, JPC was enjoying a "25% brand recognition among American adults" (Goldstein 1999, Kaelble 1999, Brauer 1998). A foundation had been laid for JPC to grow from a niche catalog operation to a mainstream marketer with a well-known brand.

However, the context of JPC's exposure on *Seinfeld* produced some advertising baggage as well. The zany context of JPC's appearances on the show (described above) tended to place the company in an inauthentic light. Compounding this issue of authenticity was Mr. Peterman's insistence that his offerings would have no consistent logo or look; those consumers who were not Peterman customers had no real-world cue that could anchor JPC as an actual purchasing option. In one survey, 70% of adult respondents who remembered the Peterman name were unaware that JPC was a real company (Brauer 1998). JPC management had been unable to translate the exposure and entertainment value of *Seinfeld* into the consciousness of prospective customers.

In May 1998, NBC aired the last episode of *Seinfeld*. John Peterman repeatedly expressed his recognition of the importance of *Seinfeld* to his company, even though he failed to act on the benefits. "It [*Seinfeld*] has raised our name recognition significantly, and will continue to for the next five or 10 years as the show runs in syndication," Peterman said a few months after the show's end (Shivel 1998).

The cumulative exposure generated from *Seinfeld* carried marketplace value that, while not exploited by JPC management, remained for the company's acquirer. When Paul Harris Stores purchased J. Peterman, they also became the beneficiaries of a brand-awareness windfall. As one equity analyst stated, "Its brand-name assets were definitely worth more than what Paul Harris paid for them. The J. Peterman line might add some brand cachet to the company"

(Pascale 1999). Will PHS management finally be able to leverage the value *Seinfeld* added to the J. Peterman brand? A PHS executive recently stated, "…I think the national exposure of that nightly on a rerun is absolutely phenomenal for the continuation of the brand. We really haven't decided to do anything with the relationship to *Seinfeld*, but that isn't to say that as we get the concept more fine-tuned that we may not look into something" (Culbertson 1999). One industry observer is pessimistic: "my sense is they really don't know themselves where they are going to go with the brand and what they're going to do with it" (Culbertson 1999).

Translating Opportunistic Exposure Into Success

How could JPC, or even its acquirer, have capitalized on the potential windfall from *Seinfeld*? The successes of other companies presented with promotional opportunities may hold the best answer. Managers of brands such as the Body Shop, Hugo Boss, Cadbury-Schweppes, Nestlé, Häagen-Dazs, and Swatch have a history of responding quickly and effectively to promotional opportunities other than paid media. In reviewing the success of these companies, Joachimsthaler and Aaker (1997) identified a few common characteristics, including: (1) senior managers actively drive the brand-building process, (2) brand identity is recognized as the foundation of the brand-building program, and (3) decision-makers find ways to keep their brands visible. The authors made an important point that is particularly relevant to the J. Peterman experience: "Each of the companies we studied understood the importance of *creating visibility while enhancing identity*" (Joachimsthaler and Aaker 1997, emphasis added).

Indeed, the effectiveness of brand placement and other in-program depictions may rest in the transmission of identity to the audience member (Karrh 1998). Brand appearances that only add to the entertainment value of the program (through, for example, humor, setting a time period, or lending authenticity) benefit the program producer without enhancing the brand's meaning. Through *Seinfeld*, JPC was able to create visibility for itself but it never enhanced, or even defined, its unique marketplace identity.

It appears that J. Peterman's singular problem was a failure to create an image, translatable to television, with which people could identify. John O'Hurley's Peterman character was a quirky eccentric, and that is what most *Seinfeld* viewers recognize. JPC, although it had ongoing opportunities to influence the work of *Seinfeld*'s writers, never was able to establish an appealing identity through television. John Peterman marketed the cowboy duster because it was "different." The image of O'Hurley's Peterman is that of a man who buys and sells trivial novelties, which do nothing to promote any cohesive identity whatsoever. The Peterman of *Seinfeld* was a persona cloaked in the essential nothingness of the show.

It need not have been that way. The J. Peterman catalog, especially through its storytelling, had been successful in offering consumers a link to their desired identities. "Throughout the J. Peterman catalog, stories of movie stars, intrigue and lost loves infiltrate the copy…As one woman said after reading the copy surrounding one Mandarin-style jacket, 'I want to be the woman in that blurb'" (Steinauer 1997). However, the romanticism of the J. Peterman catalog did not translate into the world of a television sitcom.

Given the success of the catalog, it is reasonable to assume that the catalog enjoyed a high factor of ad likability. Similarly, John O'Hurley's Peterman on *Seinfeld* is a very likable character. The dilemma in question here is whether or not the J. Peterman Company could have capitalized on O'Hurley's likability and translated that to their products. In their review of factors driving advertising effectiveness, Vakratsas and Ambler (1996) concluded, in part, "There is a pervasive view that the brand forms a 'relationship' with the consumer. Accordingly, the brand should have likable communications in order to become liked itself."

Two other conclusions from that review shed additional light onto the Peterman case. First, involvement has been shown to affect the relationship between recall and persuasion. Ad likability impacts recall but not persuasion. "People who like the ad may not be involved with the product decisions; thus, measuring persuasion is irrelevant" (Vakratsas and Ambler 1996). Since 70% of those who remembered JPC from *Seinfeld* did not realize it was a real company, involvement was likely low among most potential consumers. The lack of any authentic J. Peterman items from *Seinfeld* may as well have had an adverse effect. A second point is the long-term effect of ad likability. While the likability of communications may translate into likability for the featured brand, the process may take years. Managers of Paul Harris Stores might take some comfort in the conclusion that "consumers may resist consistent brand-support advertising when they see it, but it may have a powerful effect later" (Vakratsas and Ambler 1996).

What Could J. Peterman Have Done Differently?

As noted earlier, recent research has identified some factors that may lead to more effective in-program brand depictions such as brand placement (Babin and Carder 1996; Brennan, Dubas, and Babin 1999; Gupta and Lord 1998; Karrh 1995, 1998). The Table lists six of those key factors, as well as JPC's relative success in capitalizing on each factor.

INSERT TABLE ABOUT HERE

The key factors are:

The brand is closely associated with character(s) and story. Audiences choose certain movies or television shows in order to be 'drawn in' to engaging stories. More persuasion is likely to occur when the target brand is made a more integral part of character development and storylines.

The brand is mentioned in program dialogue. Research suggests that verbal mentions of the target brand within a program are more effective at gaining attention than are visual representations alone.

There is high repetition of communication and brand exposure. Frequency is as important in these types of communication as it is with other advertising forms. Brands shown for longer periods of time in a program, or mentioned more than once, are generally better remembered than those shown or mentioned a single time.

The brand is visually prominent within the program. Packaging, logos, or other visual cues help consumers link the brand's appearance within a program to its existence and availability in the 'real world.'

Consumers know how to act quickly and easily upon their interest. Brand placements, and other in-program depictions, may help peak consumers' interest in a brand. However, the setting (such as a movie theater or living room) is one where consumers cannot immediately sample or purchase the brand. Therefore, if the brand is an unfamiliar one, consumers need to know how to act upon their curiosity.

Management understands company/brand identity and how to convey it. The oft-repeated theme in ___ and ___'s study of opportunistic marketers is that top management must understand the core identity to be communicated.

JPC was quite successful in meeting the first three criteria. The company was the fortunate recipient of repeated exposure, through both visual and verbal means, on the most popular show on television. Further, the Peterman brand was an integral part of the program. However, JPC could not fully capitalize on its *Seinfeld* windfall because it fell short on the final three criteria. The lack of a logo or other visual cue, coupled with consumers' general ignorance about JPC and its catalog, meant that JPC needed to establish a real-world identity apart from its *Seinfeld*-

constructed identity. Since JPC management never was able to define the Peterman brand itself, the *Seinfeld* version of the company was all that was left.

In terms of tactics, JPC could have addressed its problems in one of several ways. Assuming that J. Peterman would never consent to a logo or other visual identifier for its clothing products, relief could come as either or both of: showing JPC as a real company, and offering clear direction to audience members who might want to purchase featured Peterman products. Some ideas for achieving this include:

(1) Messrs. O'Hurley and Peterman could have filmed a commercial together, to run during *Seinfeld*, in which O'Hurley – in typical stiff fashion – would come on camera and say "I'm J. Peterman," to which John Peterman could step into the camera shot and say "No, I'm J. Peterman," then display a copy of the "Owner's Manual" with an 800 number to call for a free copy. Given the eccentricity and popularity of O'Hurley's Peterman and the fact that *Seinfeld* was the top-rated show, it is reasonable to speculate that the J. Peterman Company could have exceeded its annual mailing of catalogs with just a few runs of the commercial. While the sale of JPC to Paul Harris Stores and the departure of *Seinfeld* from its prime time slot makes this possibility unrealistic at present, the fact remains that *Seinfeld* enjoys good ratings in syndication and O'Hurley may actually be a viable promotional option to help Paul Harris with the revitalization of the J. Peterman brand.

(2) Another overlooked possibility was that of a John Peterman cameo on *Seinfeld*. Peterman had access to both the scripts and the writers of the show. A cameo would have been a good opportunity to perhaps display some of the real merchandise such as the signature cowboy duster. A brief encounter between Elaine, Kramer, O'Hurley's Peterman or Jerry and the real Peterman – sporting the duster for instance – might have

given the company some extra publicity and helped to increase awareness of the legitimacy of the J. Peterman Company.

(3) In its efforts to market merchandise from *Titanic* or *The Avengers*, JPC management could have scheduled cinema advertising to run before theatrical presentations (or at the beginning of video copies of the films) to announce the availability of props for purchase from JPC. Even if patrons would be unable to remember a phone number or email address, they would remember the name and it would have increased awareness of the company. Failure to capitalize on the success of *Titanic* in this way could have been as big of a mistake as failing to capitalize from the *Seinfeld* publicity.

It appears the biggest problem for JPC involved more than advertising tactics--it involved a clearer sense of the meaning of the J. Peterman brand. While problems with direct mail lists and the new retail strategy were severe, they need not have been fatal. The exposure, on a near-weekly basis, to over 30 million *Seinfeld* viewers could have produced enough growth for the company to survive and even prosper as a mainstream brand. After the company's fall, John Peterman--in quite an understatement--admitted, "we missed an opportunity to exploit the name recognition. In retrospect, we might have done more with that" (Peterman 1999).

The lessons learned here can apply to others. The most nimble and effective marketers of the near future will avoid the mistakes of JPC and, instead, follow the examples of firms such as the Body Shop and Hugo Boss. Joachimsthaler and Aaker (1997) suggest that advertisers who wish to take advantage of non-traditional brand-building opportunities do several things: look to companies outside their industry or country for examples, appoint one person or team inside the company to have responsibility for brand identity, and use pilot tests for novel or risky programs. JPC, for example, had ample opportunity over three years to gauge consumer responses to its depictions in *Seinfeld*. It is hoped that the J. Peterman experience will serve as a clear call for marketers to think beyond simple brand visibility and embrace a strong sense of their brands' identities.

Table
How JPC's *Seinfeld* Opportunity Compared to Principles of Effective In-program Placement

*Keys to Success**	*Did JPC Have It?*
Brand closely associated with character(s) and story	yes
Brand mentioned in program dialogue	yes
High repetition of communication and brand exposure	yes
Prominent visual representation within program (such as package or logo)	no
Consumers know how to act quickly upon their interest (where to sample the product, how to purchase, etc.)	no
Clear understanding by management of company/brand identity and how to convey it	no

* *from*: Babin and Carder 1996; Brennan, Dubas, and Babin 1999; Gupta and Lord 1998; Karrh 1995, 1998

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SLINGING MUD: THE EFFECTIVENESS OF ATTACK AND RESPONSE IN NEGATIVE POLITICAL ADVERTISING

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Abstract

The purpose of this study is to identify the impact of the attacked candidate's issue response and image response and the impact of issue and image attack on the attacking candidate. An experiment with manipulated television commercials was conducted to examine the character evaluation, commercial evaluation and likelihood of voting for the attacking candidate and attacked candidate. Issue attack had a more positive impact on the character evaluation, commercial evaluation and likelihood of voting for the attacking candidate than image attack. As for the issue response and image response, issue response had a more positive impact on the attacked candidate as expected. Throughout this study, there is not statistically difference between response and non-response for the character evaluation, commercial evaluation and likelihood of voting for the attacked candidate. However, response ad had a more positive impact on the three dependent variables about the attacked candidate in terms of mean score.

Introduction

Today's political advertising on TV is more negative than ever before. Although television ideally is used to communicate political truth, the advertisements often attack an opponent's character and record rather than support one's own campaign. This is the growing trend of negative political advertising (Sabato, 1981). For example, half of Clinton's ads were negative in 1992 (Devlin, 1993). Bob Dole spent millions on his negative advertising in 1996 (Perloff, 1997). Politicians are still pursuing negative measures because negative commercials work even if they alienate voters in the electorate (Germond & Witcover, 1996).

The purpose of this study is to identify the impact of issue and image attack ads on the attacking candidate and the impact of the attacked candidate's issue response and image response. An experiment with manipulated television commercials was conducted to examine the character evaluation, commercial evaluation and the likelihood of voting for the attacking candidate and attacked candidate. Specifically, theses three dependent variables were examined after subjects watched television commercials that included attack and response advertising. In an earlier study, attacking advertising was found to be effective under certain circumstances; however, the impact of response advertising was not examined.

In spite of the backlash effect of negative political advertising, research shows this advertising is still widely used. West (1993) investigated 324 "prominent" ads that aired between 1952 and 1992 and 150 "typical ads" from 1972 through 1992. Campaigns through 1960 were not particularly negative in their advertising. Twenty-five percent of prominent ads in 1952 were negative, and 38 percent were negative in 1956. However, with the start of the Johnson-Goldwater race of 1964, advertising turned more negative. Fifty percent of the prominent ads in 1964, and 69 percent of the prominent ads in 1968 were negative.

The 1992 presidential campaign was also primarily negative. Fifty-six percent of the Bush campaign ads and 69 percent of the Clinton ads were classified as negative ads attacking the opponent. "The Clinton percentage is the highest percentage of negative ads ever documented in a presidential campaign" (Kaid, 1994, p.116).

On the other hand, negative political advertising has unintended effects. Some studies indicate that voters do not like negative ads and find them unnecessary (Garramone, 1984; Merrit, 1984; Pinkleton & Garramone, 1992). One study indicated that a strong attack on a candidate may produce negative attitudes toward the attacker rather than the attacked (Garramone, 1984). Critics of negative political advertising argue that these ads contribute to voter alienation and apathy and are harmful to the U.S. democratic process (Pinkleton, 1997).

In spite of this, negative political advertising is still used. Empirical research indicates that negative comparative advertising lowers the attacked candidate's evaluation without lowering the attacking candidate's evaluation (Pinkleton, 1997). Using a sample of 240 spots from primary and general election campaigns, Kaid found that 42 percent of the spot ads included some type of technological distortion. Distortions were more likely to occur in negative spots than in positive ones (Kaid, 1996). Exposure to a spot ad with technological change would fortify the image and increase the vote likelihood for the attacking candidate while lowering the image and vote likelihood for the opponent (Kaid, 1997).

Since the use of negative political advertising in elections has increased, further research is needed to analyze the effects of response negative political advertising.

Theoretical background

While the definition of negative political advertising varies, Surlin and Gordon operationalized the genre as "advertising which attacks the other candidate personally, the issues for which the other candidate stands, or the party of the other candidate" (As cited in Garramone, 1984, p. 250).

The cognitive response model and expectancy theory are appropriate to this study. They each are discussed below.

Cognitive response model

According to the cognitive response model, thoughts (cognitive response) elicited in various forms of communication can be seen as underlying factors that mediate the overall effectiveness of a communication (Wilson et. al., 1979).

Wright (1973) categorized three cognitive responses to advertising communication as support argument, counterargument, and source derogation. These variables can be summarized as follows:

> Support Argument: in relating incoming information to existing beliefs, the receiver may activate responses indicating that congruent associations have been discovered or that the message argument is supported by already entrenched beliefs.
>
> Counterargument: activated when incoming information is compared to the existing belief system and a discrepancy is noted. The spontaneous thought activated is assumed to neutralize or counter message evidence.
>
> Source derogation: an alternate type of resistive response focuses on the source of the information. The source derogating response may serve as a substitute for counterargument and may be used quite frequently in situations where the source is easily viewed as biased (an unfortunate description of mass-media advertising p. 54).

Merrit (1984) showed examples of these variables. Support argument includes negative images of the target ("He is indeed that bad"). The reduction of dissonance through counterargument gives images of the target that balance the image ("He is changed"). Source derogation involves negative images of the sponsor ("He is a mudslinger") or of the message ("It's misrepresentation") in the negative political advertising context (p. 29)

Wright indicated that source derogation is a more frequent response to dissonance than counterargument since the source might be assuredly biased (as cited in Merrit, 1984). Also, it can be expected that negative political advertising is likely to produce source derogation and cause harmful effects toward the attacking candidate when viewers watch both attacking and responsive political advertising simultaneously.

Expectancy theory

Expectancy theory centers on the association between language use and the effectiveness of such language use in persuasion (Burgoon & Miller, 1985). Expectancy theory identifies two violations: positive or negative violation. In terms of the persuasion effects of the two violations, the theory assumes that when messages positively violate people's linguistic expectations, the violation has a positive influence on people's attitudes and evokes persuasive effectiveness (Burgoon & Miller, 1985, p. 200). Contrary to this, when messages negatively violate people's linguistic expectations, a "boomerang effect occurs, with receivers changing to the position opposite to the one advocated by the communicator" (Burgoon & Miller, 1985).

As one might imagine, expectancy theory can be applied to various fields of study. One application concerns the effectiveness of negative political advertising. Based on the theory, it can be assumed that voters have normative expectations about negative political advertising because such advertising is one of the most common genres in today's politics and voters have been exposed to various negative ads (Park, 1996). Since most negative ads have been employed to attack the opponent's image or issues, people may expect negative political ads to have standard formats and intense messages. If negative political ads conform to people's normative expectations, expectancy theory defines it as a negative violation and predicts that it arouses negative effects toward the sponsor (Park, 1996). On the other hand, it is assumed that when a positive violation is mediated, it gives the sponsor positive effects.

Concept Formulation

The effects of negative political advertising

There is some disagreement between academics and political practitioners about the effectiveness of negative political advertising (Pfau, Parrott, & Lindquist, 1992). Academic research finds that the public dislikes negative advertising, thus undermining its believability. (Merrit, 1984;Hill, 1989). However, attack advertising must work, since it has been increasingly used in modern campaigns among practitioners (Pfau et. al., 1992).

Intended effects

The negativity construct is the most common explanation for the effectiveness of negative political advertising (Pfau et.al., 1992). Support for negativity is found in information processing literature, indicating that negative information conveys greater weight. Therefore, it stands out, making it more likely to be noticed and processed by receivers (Pfau et. al., 1992).

Lau (1982) concludes that negative information is more effective in candidate evaluation because it is emphasized against a positive environment. In addition, he adds:

> These results make it clear that when voters are forming impressions of political candidates, the negative things they know are more important than positive things. Further, once

those impressions have been formed, any subsequent vengeance (resulting from negative evaluations) will be greater than any consequent reward (resulting from positive evaluation.) (pp. 373-374).

The intended effect of negative political advertising is to create negative feelings toward the attacked candidate and positive feelings toward the attacking candidate (Garramone, 1984). Surlin and Gordon (1977) found that direct attack ads were unethical but informative. Comparisons between candidates, even if tilted to one side, are usually rich with information (as cited in Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1991). Negative political advertising may offer more information to voters than positive ads, and people retain negative information more easily than positive information (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1991). West (1993) indicates that negative ads are more informative, and even female candidates are using negative political advertising. In the Weigold (1991) study, negative ads worked to help the attacking candidate to be more effective in damaging another candidate's likeability.

Negative political advertising has often been cited as offering greater issue clarity than positive spots, which is especially helpful for people who are not familiar with the campaign or political affairs (Hagstrom & Guskind, 1986). Negative political advertising also increases political debate. It actually opens up the campaign to the issues by making the candidates respond to the charges and countercharges. These negative ads are used strategically to set the terms of the campaign debate by fabricating the issues (Nugent, 1987).

Unintended effects

One of the most important weaknesses of negative political advertising is that it will turn voters off from the election itself (Trent, 1995). Negative political advertising is "often thought to promote alienation because it has been viewed as increasing the negativity of the political process. Political advertising in general is not the most highly regarded form of communication, and negative advertising is seen as something worse" (Johnson-Cartee & Copeland, 1991, p. 276). However, despite the fact that only a third of eligible voters do vote, there is no evidence that people are ignoring their voting responsibilities because candidates use attack advertising (Trent, 1995).

Another concern is the backlash effect. Garramone (1984) found negative advertising has a "strong negative influence on the viewer's feeling toward the sponsor but only a slight net negative influence on feelings toward the target" (p. 256). Implausible attacks will elicit a backlash. For example, the constituents in Tennessee were simply unwilling to believe that anyone would approve the actions specified in an ad showcasing a Fidel Castro impersonator (Jamieson, 1992). Stewart's (1975) survey found that many subjects associated mudslinging with distortions or lies, while most believed sources of negative ads to be "untrustworthy," "incompetent" and "unlikable"(as cited by Weigold, 1992).

Negative advertisements have dangerous aspects. Candidates using attack ads increase the competitors' negative ads and look negative for attacking the competitor, creating a backlash against their candidacy. In the 1993 Los Angeles mayoral race, voters expressed their distaste for negative political advertising and the candidate who used it in exit polls (cited by Ansolabehere and Iyengar, 1996). Ansolabehere and Iyengar (1996) asserted that most voters disagree with negative political advertising even though it may be right for political consultants. Their study found that how a voter responds to negative and positive advertisements is up to that voter's view of government. Democratic viewers like positive ads, and Republicans prefer negative ads.

Image and Issue

Not surprisingly, image versus issue is a long-standing theme in politics. In qualifying negative political advertising, Johnson and Copeland (1987) identified 10 negative advertising topics that they classified as either "political" or "personal." Political represents issue, and personal represents image. Political topics include political records, issue stands, and voting records. Personal topics include personal life, current or past marriage, criminal activities, family members, religion, medical history and sex life. This political/personal distinction is suggestive of political advertising's long-standing issue/image distinction (Roddy & Garramone, 1988, p. 417). The distinction between image and issue focuses on the presumed differences between political advertisements and how advertising detracts or contributes to an informed electorate (Geiger & Reeves, 1990).

While issue appeals are related to specific policies, image appeals are related to personal characteristics of the candidate (Kaid & Sanders, 1978). Tests of the effectiveness of issue versus image political commercials have found that issue ads brought a more favorable candidate evaluation (Kaid & Sanders, 1978) and a greater intention to vote for the candidate (Garramone, 1985) than image ads. Kaid and Sanders (1978) found issue ads produced significantly higher positive attitudes scores than did image advertising. Moreover, Johnson-Cartee and Copeland concluded that voters were more likely to tolerate negative commercials that focus on policy than on personality (as cited in West, 1993, p. 52). In the Thorson, Christ, and Caywood study (1991), issue commercials had a more positive impact on attitudes and voting intent than image commercials.

Garramone (1983) examined the effects of issue and image ads. She found that people preferred issue attack advertising to image attack commercials, and the attacking candidate's character was rated as more positive with issue than with image attacks. Also, Pfau and Burgoon (1989) studied the efficacy of issue and character attack message strategies in political campaign communication. They hypothesized that character attack messages exert more influence than issue attack messages. However, issue attack messages exert more change in attitude and vote intention than character attack messages.

Garramone (1988) examined the issue versus image orientation and effects of political advertising. She found subjects attending to issue information were more likely to become informed and were more confident in their learning than were subjects attending to personality information.

Response Strategies

The most important communicative functions of response ads seek to prevent damage from the attack. The candidate's response must deflect attention away from the subject of the attack and turn attention on the candidate's own ground (Trent, 1995).

During the 1990 and 1992 elections, response ads became plentiful and were aired more rapidly than ever before (Trent, 1995). The rule of thumb that appears to be consistent in terms of response ads is that response ads happen very fast and repeatedly after the first attack. In a general situation, most media consultants believe that a response to an attack ad must be aired as soon as possible after the first attack because of the effect attack ads can have on people (Trent, 1995). One of reasons that response ads are aired rapidly is that media advisors fear the attack ads of the opponent will control the dialogue or set the dialogue for the campaign (Trent, 1995).

There are a variety of ways to counter negative ads. Candidates can (a) confess their sins; (b) deny the charges then turn around and attack the opposition for its use of dirty tactics; (c) reframe the issue to their own advantage; or (d) counterattack the sponsor of the negative ad (Perloff, 1997).

Perloff suggested that silence is ineffective. Candidates who were targeted by negative ads were told to ignore the attacks in the old days but "the days of ignoring negative ads are over" (Perloff, 1997, p. 68). People believing that silence is the best response to negative ads should consider the case of Michael Dukakis, who now freely admits that he made a mistake by not answering Bush's ads. His silence suggested that Bush's charges just might be true (Perloff, 1997).

Another example of silence was presented in the 1984 senatorial campaign in Kentucky (Trent, 1995). Incumbent Senator Walter Dee Huddleston's approval was 68 percent. His challenger, Mitch McConnell, had no chance of winning. However, McConnell's media staff made humorous ads in search of the "missing" Huddleston. Huddleston never responded to the allegation that he had a bad record and lost the race.

Weigold (1993) found that boomerang effects were removed when the attacked candidate did not respond against an attacking candidate's negative messages under condition that attacking candidate' issue was inconsistent with his party-based expectation. This research made it clear that boomerang effects only occur when a attacked candidate responds strongly to a negative ad.

Of the many possible response strategies, the present study used the counterattack approach. In response commercials, targeted candidates call attention to their opponent's perversion of the truth and present their own arguments about the topic of the attack commercials (Roddy & Garramone, 1988). For example, candidates whose issue positions are misrepresented by opponents may point out how their opponents perverted their positions and then proceed to describe their true issue positions. This technique was used to make the response advertisement used in this study.

Based on findings that issue ads brought a more favorable candidate evaluation and a greater intention to vote for the candidate than image ads, the proposed hypotheses for this study are as follows:

> Hypothesis 1: An issue response to an attacked will have a more positive impact on the (a) character evaluation, (b) commercial evaluation and (c) likelihood of voting for the attacked candidate than image response.
>
> Hypothesis 2: An issue attack ad will have a more positive impact on (a) the character evaluation, (b) commercial evaluation and (c) likelihood of voting of the attacking candidate than image attack.

Based on the fact that a response ad to an attack ad must be aired as soon as possible after the first attack because of the effect attack ads can have on people, the following hypothesis is proposed.

> Hypotheses 3: A response ad will have a more positive impact on (a) the character evaluation, (b) commercial evaluation and (c) likelihood of voting for the attacked candidate than no response.

Based on the fact that negative political advertising would be likely to produce source derogation and cause harmful effects toward the attacking candidate when viewers watch both the attacking and the responsive political advertising simultaneously, the following hypothesis are proposed.

> Hypothesis 4: Negative political advertising will produce source derogation, causing harmful effects of (a) the character evaluation, (b) commercial evaluation and (c) likelihood of voting for the attacking candidate.

Method

Sample

Participants in the experiment were 144 undergraduate journalism majors who were randomly assigned to one of eight treatment conditions: issue attack (candidate A)/issue response (candidate B); image attack (candidate A)/image response (candidate B); image attack (candidate A)/issue response (candidate B); issue attack (candidate A)/image response (candidate B); issue attack (candidate A); issue attack (candidate B); issue attack (candidate B); image attack (candidate B) (See Figure 1).

Procedure

Upon arriving at the experiment room, participants were shown one of eight types of stimulus ads. The stimulus ads were placed within regular product commercials. Each stimulus commercial was presented one time, with the attack ad shown first, followed by the response ad. Immediately following the program, the questionnaire containing the dependent measures was administered. Subjects saw advertising as follows. First, they saw one product advertisement and saw one attacking advertisement and one product advertisement and one response advertisement about Campaign Ad I (Candidate A and B). After that, questionnaire was administered. Because results from just one Campaign Ad I can't be generalized, Campaign Ad II (candidate C and D) and Campaign Ad III (candidate E and F) were repeated with the same format and procedures. In short, each participant saw three campaign ads. Scores for each individual were averaged in this study for a total sample size of 144. After that, the scores of character evaluation, commercial evaluation, and vote likelihood about three campaign ads were summed.

The fixed order is as follows:

1. Product commercial
2. Campaign Ad I's advertising
3. Questionnaire about candidates is administered.
4. Product commercial
5. Campaign Ad II's advertising
6. Questionnaire about candidates is administered.
7. Product commercial
8. Campaign Ad III's advertising
9. Questionnaire about candidates is administered.

Stimulus Commercials

Eighteen 30-second stimulus TV commercials were created featuring six fictional candidates for a Senate office. The target of attack commercials was pictured in both his own and the attacker's commercials. The photos were similar, but not identical, with the difference being that the photo used in the attacker's commercial did not show the target smiling. The photographs used were of a businessman taken from a magazine.

Two attack commercials were created, one featuring an issue attack, the other an image attack. The issue attack focused on the attacked candidate's positions — crime, taxes, financial aid, housing, health benefits and so on—claiming that his record as a Senator showed that he was lenient toward crimes and against reducing taxes. It showed the attacked candidate with superimposed words that reinforced the audio message ("released criminals," "opposed reducing taxes", etc.). In the image attack, the attacked candidate is accused of being "misleading and dishonest" and of missing votes as a Senator.

Response commercials corresponding to each of the attack commercials were created. The issue response ad depicted a photo of the target and a voice-over claiming that the attacking candidate was "distorting me" and that he was engaging in negative campaigning. Additionally, the voice stated that the target had "fought against crime and for reduced taxes." The image response was visually identical to the issue attack but directly referred to the attack on the target's honesty and claimed that the attacker was relying on negative and inaccurate messages.

In short, at the beginning of the experiment, participants completed a series of questions about Campaign Ad I's (candidate A and candidate B) advertising. Next, they were exposed to Campaign Ad II's (candidate C and candidate D) advertising and completed a questionnaire. Finally, the participants were exposed again to Campaign Ad III's (candidate E and candidate F) advertising and completed a questionnaire. Participants were debriefed after the instruments were collected.

Dependent measures

The dependent variables that were measured for the sponsoring candidate and the targeted candidate included: (a) evaluation of the candidate's commercial; (b) evaluation of the candidate's character; and (c) likelihood of voting for the candidate.

Character evaluation. Subjects evaluated each candidate on seven point scales using seven attributes found useful in previous research investigating candidate images (Roddy & Garramone, 1988). The attributes are intelligent, sincere, believable, honest, persuasive, concerned, and qualified.

Commercial evaluation. Subjects evaluated each commercial on three seven-point scales according to how informative, believable and persuasive they felt the commercial was. For each scale, "1" indicates little of the attribute and "7" indicates much of the attribute (Roddy & Garramone, 1988,).

Likelihood of voting. Subjects indicated on seven point scales the likelihood that they would vote for the sponsoring candidate if they were voting in an election involving the candidates. For each scale, "1" indicated not at all likely and "7" indicated very likely (Roddy &

Garramone, 1988,).

Findings

To confirm the success of the manipulation, commercials featuring issue versus image appeal were compared in terms of participants' perception of each commercial's strength of issue or image on a seven-point scale. The comparison was computed with an individual sample t-test between the issue-only (Group 5) and the image-only treatment group (Group 6). There was a statistically significant difference between the negative political advertisement containing issue and that containing image [t (36)=3.93, p<.001.] The issue commercial (M=4.28) was perceived as significantly more issue-oriented than the image commercial (M=1.83). This result confirms the success of the manipulation.

For each candidate, the 21 items were summed and divided by 21 to create an index with the following Cronbach alpha reliability coefficients: Attacking candidate, alpha=.94 (character evaluation), alpha=.83 (commercial evaluation) and alpha=.58 (likelihood of voting); Attacked candidate, alpha=.95 (character evaluation), alpha=.84 (commercial evaluation) and alpha=.73 (likelihood of voting).

Hypothesis 1-a suggested that issue response has a more positive impact on the character evaluation of the attacked candidate than image response. As shown in Table 1, there is a statistically significant difference between issue response and image response in the character evaluation of the attacked candidate [F(1,71)=6.19, p<.05.] In addition, issue response (M=68.25) had a more positive impact on the character evaluation of the attacked candidate than image response (M=57.44). Therefore, this hypothesis is supported.

Hypothesis 1-b suggested that issue response has a more positive impact on the commercial evaluation of the attacked candidate than image response. As shown in Table 1, there is a statistically significant difference between issue response and image response in the commercial evaluation of the attacked candidate [F (1,71)=6.35 p<.05.] Also, issue response (M=28) had a more positive impact on the commercial evaluation of the attacked candidate than image response (M=22.67). This hypothesis is supported.

Hypothesis 1-c suggested that issue response has a more positive impact on the likelihood of voting for the attacked candidate than image response. As shown from Table 1, there is no statistically significant difference between issue response and image response in the likelihood of voting for the attacked candidate. However, issue response (M=9.25) had a more positive impact on the likelihood of voting for the attacked candidate than image response (M=7.94).

Overall, issue response has a more positive impact on the character evaluation, and commercial evaluation for the attacked candidate than image response. However, the likelihood of voting for the attacked candidate was not statistically significant.

Hypothesis 2-a suggested that issue attack has a more positive impact on the character evaluation of the attacking candidate than image attack. As can be seen in Table 2, there is a statistically significant difference between issue attack and image attack in the character evaluation of the attacking candidate [F(1,143)=5.38 p<.05.] Additionally, issue attack (M=60.03) had a more positive impact on the character evaluation of the attacking candidate than image attack (M=53.15).

Hypothesis 2-b suggested that issue attack has a more positive impact on the commercial evaluation of the attacking candidate than image attack. As can be seen in Table 2, there is a statistically significant difference between issue attack and image attack [F (1,143)=3.79 p<05.]

Further, issue attack (M=26.32) had a more positive impact on the commercial evaluation of the attacking candidate than image attack (M=23.47).

Hypothesis 2-c suggested that issue attack has a more positive impact on the likelihood of voting for the attacking candidate than image attack. As can be seen in Table 2, there is no statistically significant difference between issue attack and image attack. However, issue attack (M=7.03) had a more positive impact on the likelihood of voting for the attacking candidate than image attack (M=6.56).

Overall, issue attack had a more positive impact on the character evaluation, commercial evaluation and likelihood of voting for the attacking candidate than image attack.

Hypothesis 3-a suggested that response has a more positive impact on the character evaluation of the attacked candidate than non-response. As can be seen in Table 3, there is no statistically significant difference between response and non-response for the character evaluation of the attacked candidate. However, response (M=64.92) had a more positive impact on the character evaluation of the attacked candidate than non-response (M= 60.78).

Hypothesis 3-b suggested that response has a more positive impact on the commercial evaluation of the attacked candidate than non-response. As can be seen in Table 3, there is no statistically significant difference between response and non-response in the commercial evaluation of the attacked candidate. However, response (M=26.08) had a more positive impact on the commercial evaluation of the attacked candidate than non-response (M=24.58).

Hypothesis 3-c suggested that response has a more positive impact on the likelihood of voting for the attacked candidate than non-response. As shown in Table 3, there is no statistically significant difference between response and non-response in the likelihood of voting for the attacked candidate. However, response (M=9.19) tended to have a more positive impact on the likelihood of voting for the attacked candidate than non-response (M=8.00).

Overall, although there are no statistically significant results, response ads had a more positive impact on the character evaluation, commercial evaluation and likelihood of voting for the attacked candidate than non-response in terms of mean score.

Hypothesis 4-a suggested that negative political advertising produces source derogation, causing harmful effects of the character evaluation for the attacking candidate. As shown in Table 4, there is a statistically significant difference between the mean character evaluation for the attacking candidate and the attacked candidate [t (1,71)=-3.61, p<.001.] Also, the attacked candidate (M=62.85) had a higher character evaluation than the attacking candidate (M=56.35).

Hypothesis 4-b suggested that negative political advertising produces source derogation, causing harmful effects of the commercial evaluation for the attacking candidate. As can be seen in Table 4, there is no statistically significant difference between the mean commercial evaluation of the attacking candidate and the attacked candidate. However, the attacked candidate (M=23.52) had a slightly higher commercial evaluation than the attacking candidate (M=25.10).

Hypothesis 4-c suggested that negative political advertising produces source derogation, causing harmful effects of the likelihood of voting for the attacking candidate. As shown in Table 4, there is a statistically significant difference between the mean likelihood of voting for the attacking candidate and the attacked candidate [t (1,71)=-3.73, p<.001.] In addition, the attacked candidate (M=8.60) had a greater likelihood of gaining votes than the attacking candidate (M=7.01).

Overall, negative political advertising did produce source derogation, causing harmful effects on the character evaluation and the likelihood of voting for the attacking candidate.

Discussion

The present study sought to determine the relative effectiveness of response and non-response and issue/image negative political advertising for attacking and attacked candidates. The result suggests that issue advertising has a more positive impact on the attacking candidate when he attacks and issue response has a more positive impact on the attacked candidate when he responds.

First, the study results show that issue response resulted in a higher character evaluation of the attacked candidate. By comparing the means between issue response and image response, it was found that issue response (M=68.25) was higher than image response (M=57.44). Issue response resulted in a higher commercial evaluation of the attacked candidate, which was also statistically significant. Also, issue response (M=28) was higher than image response (M=22.67). There was a statistically significant interaction between issue/image response and response non-response in their influence on the likelihood of voting for the attacked candidate. By comparing simple main effects between response and non-response, it is assumed that when the attacked candidate responds against the attacking advertising by emphasizing an issue, he or she has a chance to increase the likelihood of voting for him or her.

Second, viewing the effect of response and non-response in regards to the attacked candidate produced less clear results. Although there was no statistically significant difference, response resulted in higher scores on all three dependent variables than non-response. However, non-response had a more positive impact on the character evaluation of the attacking candidate than response. Therefore, it can be said that not responding against attacking advertising may lead to negative consequences for the attacked candidate. Any response in a real election is better than no response. Generally, response advertising to attack advertising is better after the attack because of the effect attack advertising can have on people.

Third, in terms of attack, an issue attack resulted in a higher character evaluation of the attacking candidate. By comparing the mean between issue attack and image attack, issue attack (M=60.03) was higher than image attack (M=53.15), which is consistent with the results of previous researches (Roddy & Garromone, 1988; Thorson et. al., 1991). Issue attack (M=26.32) resulted in a higher commercial evaluation of the attacking candidate than image attack (M=23.47). Even though there was no statistically significant difference between issue attack and image attack in the likelihood of voting for the attacking candidate, issue attack (M=7.03) was higher than image attack (M=6.56).

Finally, negative political advertising did produce source derogation, causing harmful effects on the character evaluation and the likelihood of voting for the attacking candidate. Previous studies found the source derogation by only the attacking advertising (Merrit, 1984; Park, 1996). However, source derogation was explained clearly because this study includes response advertising. The candidate wanting to attack another candidate must use careful negative political advertising and have certain evidence about the arguments that he or she makes.

Findings and implications articulated above should be considered in the context of the limitations of this study. The main limitation is the use of student participants, who are not fully representative of the general electorate (Pinkleton, 1997). However, it is interesting to note that the 1992 presidential election had the highest voter turnout since 1972, and the greatest increase was among younger voters (Pinkleton, 1997). In addition, research results suggest that because their age and education compensate for each other, college students are acceptable as participants in political advertising research (Garramone, 1984 & Pinkleton, 1997).

Another limitation is that the experimental setting was artificial with respect to lack of context and possibly the quality of commercials. In a true election, voters do not base their decision solely on what they have seen in political commercials.

Third, previous research has found that individual differences such as age, education and candidate preference mediate negative advertising effects (Roddy & Garramone, 1988). In present study, however, the fictional candidates and student sample did not allow for the investigation of such individual differences.

Based on these results and the limitations of this study, several suggestions for future research are made. First, future research could be conducted during an actual election with a control group. Second, TV commercials need to be more refined. Several types of TV commercials should be made and examined in the experiment. Third, future research should examine why negative political advertising containing image is perceived to be less positive than negative political advertising containing issue. In addition, issue vs. image in negative political advertising should be compared to issue vs. image in positive political advertising. Finally, future research needs to explore how effective several responses are in several kinds of attacks in negative political advertising.

Overall, however, the findings here demonstrate the complex nature of information processing of negative advertising. Under certain circumstances, negative advertising can hurt an attacking candidate, especially in the case of response advertising. The candidate wanting to attack another candidate may use carefully planned negative political advertising.

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Appendix

Table 1. Means of three dependent variables of the attacked candidate by types of response ad

	Type of response ad			
	Issue	Image	F	p-value
Character Evaluation	68.25(3.25^{+})	57.44(2.74)	6.19*	.02
Commercial Evaluation	28(3.11)	22.67(2.52)	6.35*	.01
Likelihood of vote	9.25(3.08)	7.94(2.65)	2.56	.11

* P< .05 (the scores of character evaluation, commercial evaluation, and vote likelihood about three campaign ads were summed. For example, character evaluation' total score is 147)

$^{+}$: The score is transformed to 1-7 scale.

Table 2. Means of three dependent variables of the attacking candidate by types of attack ad

	Issue	Image	F	p-value
Character Evaluation	60.03(2.86)	53.15(2.53)	5.38*	.02
Commercial Evaluation	26.52(2.95)	23.47(2.61)	3.79*	.05
Likelihood of vote	7.03(2.34)	6.56(2.19)	.93	.34

*p< .05

Table 3. Means of three dependent variables of the attacked candidate by response/non-response

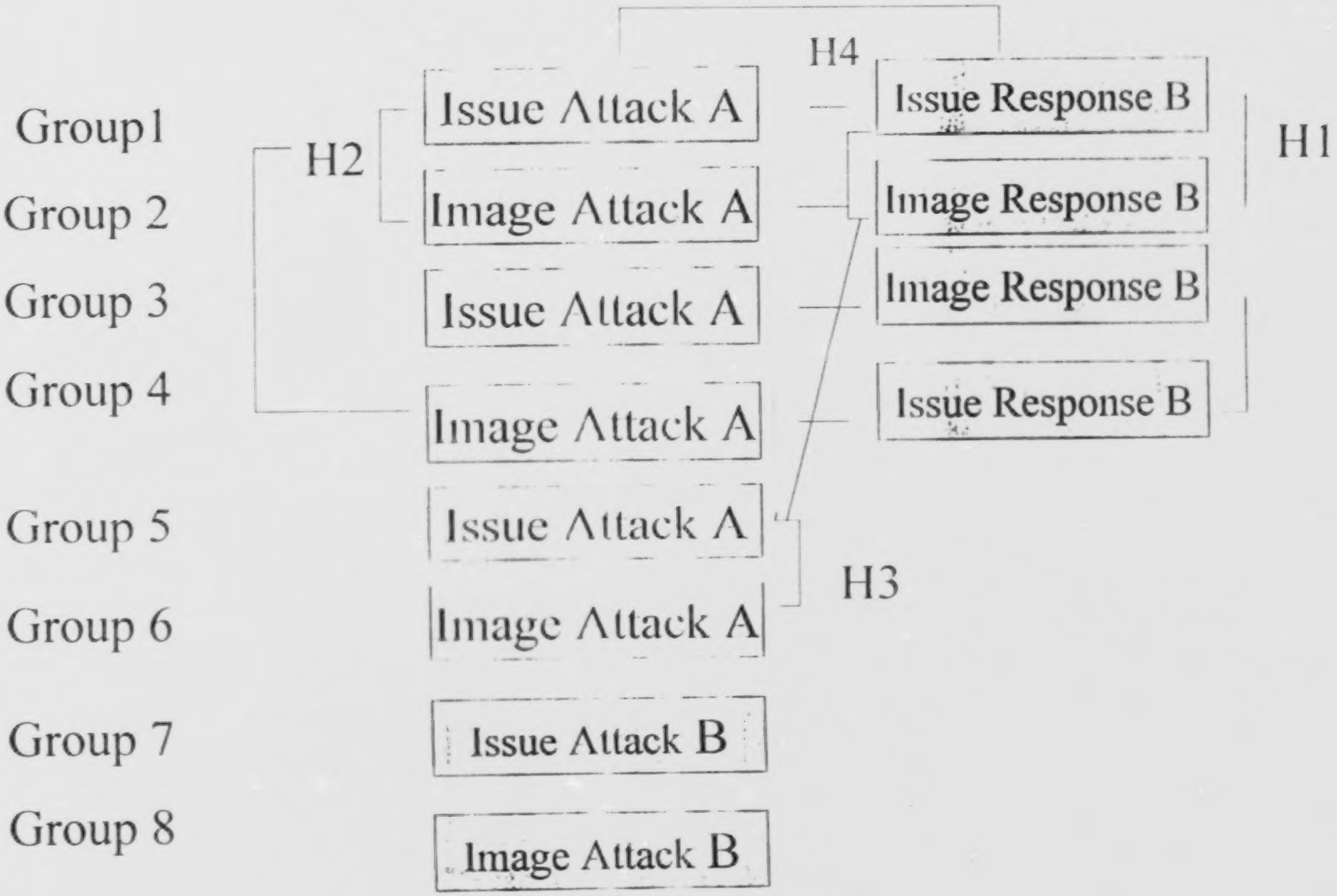
	Response / Non-response			
	Response	Non-response	F	p-value
Character Evaluation	64.92(3.09)	60.78(2.89)	.91	.34
Commercial Evaluation	26.08(2.90)	24.58(2.73)	.50	.48
Likelihood of vote	9.19(3.06)	8.00(2.67)	2.14	.15

Table 4. T-test for the attacking candidate and the attacked candidate

	Mean	T-value	p-value
Character Evaluation	56.34 (attacking, 2.68) 62.84(attacked, 2.99)	-3.61**	.001
Commercial Evaluation	25.10 (attacking, 2.79) 25.52(attacked, 2.84)	-.55	.586
Likelihood of vote	7.01 (attacking, 2.34) 8.59 (attacked, 2.86)	-3.73**	.000

**p< .01

Figure 1. Research Design



H4

H2

H1

H3

Group1 Issue Attack A Issue Response B

Group 2 Image Attack A Image Response B

Group 3 Issue Attack A Image Response B

Group 4 Image Attack A Issue Response B

Group 5 Issue Attack A

Group 6 Image Attack A

Group 7 Issue Attack B

Group 8 Image Attack B

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Underwriting the War Effort:
The Advertising Council Organizes the Advertising Industry, 1942-1945

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Underwriting the War Effort:

The Advertising Council Organizes the Advertising Industry, 1942-1945

One of the most documented episodes in the history of the U.S. advertising industry is the rise of the Advertising Council and its role in the war effort from 1942 to 1945. The Advertising Council helped the government during the war by planning, creating and placing ads for Washington's home-front campaigns free of charge. Among other things, the Council urged people to donate blood, enlist in the military, plant victory gardens, salvage fats and metals, support the Red Cross, and buy war bonds. To most observers in the advertising industry, the Advertising Council was an expression of the sacrifice, patriotism, and support by this extraordinary American institution for the defense of human freedom.[1] Most of the scholarly research, on the other hand, emphasizes the fundamental importance of the Advertising Council in protecting and promoting the self-interest of the advertising industry. In this line of thinking, the Advertising Council is seen as a textbook case study in effective corporate public relations.[2] According to one of its founding members, the Advertising Council's goal was that of "demonstrating beyond doubts that advertising deserved a place at the council tables in the great task of reconstruction after the war."[3]

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1. See, for example, Raymond Rubicam. "Advertising," in *While You Were Gone: A Report on Wartime Life in the United States*, Jack Goodman ed., (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1946), pp. 421-446; Ray Barron, *The 40s: When We Were Dreamers of Dreams* (Boston: Branden Publishing Company, 1987).

2. Frank W. Fox, *Madison Avenue Goes to War* (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1975), chapter 5; Stephen Fox, *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising & Its Creators* (Chicago and Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1997). First published in 1984; Robert Griffith, "The Selling of America: The Advertising Council and American Politics," *Business History Review*, Vol. 57, No. 1, Autumn 1983, pp. 388-412; Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994); Mark Leff, "The Politics of Sacrifice on the American Home Front in World War II," *Journal of American History*, Vol. 77, No. 4, March 1991, pp. 1296-1318.

3. Harold B. Thomas, *The Background and Beginning of the Advertising Council*, Box 1, Folder: Background and Beginning of the Advertising Council (1952), Record Group 13/2/203, Advertising Council papers, University of Illinois Archives, Urbana [hereafter: Ad Council papers], n.p. For a similar view, see letter to Bruce Barton from Paul T. Cherington, April 21, 1942, Box 118, Folder: AFA 1942 A-G, Bruce Barton papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison [hereafter: Barton papers]; letter to Bruce Barton from Edgar Kobak, April 21, 1942, Box 1, Folder: Advertising Federation of America, 1942-1955, Barton papers.

Most of the research on the Advertising Council has emphasized its numerous campaigns and its relationship with the government during the Second World War.[4] In this paper I will turn to a neglected area of supreme importance for the Advertising Council: how it dealt with advertising community itself and organized major advertisers and advertising agencies to support its efforts. The Council spent considerable energy on coaching, encouraging, even guilt-tripping advertisers into compliance. Adding to the Advertising Council's challenge, there were individual advertisers who, disregarding the postwar benefits of effective public relations, exploited the war for immediate financial gains and used wartime themes in such a self-serving manner as to generate more public opprobrium than approval. In this paper I will provide an overview of the Advertising Councils's formation and operations, a look at some of the problems it faced, and a case study of its controversial 1944 campaign, designed to help "Stamp Out V.D.". I will draw from government and business archives as well as trade publications. I argue that the organized advertising industry, by which I mean the main trade organizations like the American Association of Advertising Agencies (AAAA) and the Association of National Advertisers (ANA) that were behind the formation of the Advertising Council, was able to eventually succeed not only with the government and the public but with recalcitrant advertisers as well. In the end, this paved the way for a postwar advertising industry PR strategy that proved successful for the balance of the century.

The Advertising Council

A few days after the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941, the government called on the advertising community's help in winning the war. Washington needed time, space and talent.[5] The advertising industry reacted with enthusiasm. "We can't all be marines at Wake Island," explained one industry observer. "We can't all be building bombing planes and tanks and serve as Red Cross nurses and field men. But all of us in advertising and allied fields, regardless of age or sex, are 'marines in the American cause' today and as we do our job we will help make this a stronger, braver nation."[6] Speaking on behalf of the advertising community, *Advertising Age* promised it would do a great job at stimulating enlistment in the war effort. It would help sell war bonds; it would help build up the nation's morale -- all in a generous and selfless spirit. Advertising, assured the trade journal, would serve "primarily as a public information service".[7]

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[4] Fox, *Madison Avenue Goes to War*; Griffith, "The Selling of America;" Leff, "The Politics of Sacrifice."

Officially recognized by the Office of war Information (OWI) in August 1942, the Advertising Council faced a wide range of tasks and challenges.[8] Few projects were "typical" of its work, but a basic pattern soon emerged. All Council projects were initiated through the Bureau of Campaigns. The Bureau was the focal point for government drives as well as the agency; it was where various other federal agencies made their promotional needs known. In setting up a typical campaign, its director, Ken R. Dyke first met with representatives from the appropriate government departments and agencies. After a proposed campaign had been analyzed and approved by the Bureau of Campaigns, the Bureau invited the Advertising Council to participate. The next step involved a discussion of the proposal by the Council's executive committee. The committee evaluated the proposal for its usefulness in the overall war effort, and whether it was worthy of advertising support. Upon approval of a project, the Advertising Council's board of directors designated one of its members as project coordinator.[9] This coordinator assumed full responsibility for carrying out the campaign. This person, always a representative of a national advertising agency, in effect assumed the job of advertising manager for that particular campaign.

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[5] Jack Malcolm Bethune, "A History of the Advertising Council" (M. A. Thesis, University of Texas at Austin, 1968).

[6] Emil Schram, "If American business men want to run its own show when this war is over," *Printers' Ink*, January 16, 1942, p. 38.

[7] "War Comes to America," *Advertising Age*, December 15, 1941, p. 12.

[8] "Planning and Production of Government Information Plans," n.d., Box 4, Folder 1, Thomas D'Arcy Brophy papers, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Madison [hereafter: Brophy papers].

The job started with selecting one or more of the more than 400 advertising agencies that had volunteered their services to the Council. The next step involved developing campaign plans in cooperation with the designated ad agencies, a project director from the Advertising Council's paid staff, and the government department that had requested the Council's promotional help. Preliminary plans, usually copy suggestions, layouts, and miscellaneous material, were then worked out and submitted to the Advertising Council's board for approval.[10] Advertisers were asked to underwrite the various campaigns, and they used the finished campaign material in their advertising. In other words, the Advertising Council coordinated campaigns for the government in the same manner that the ad industry worked for any large commercial client.[11] The Council's stated goal was to "marshal the forces of advertising to help America win the war."[12]

All of the Advertising Council's services were contributed to the government free of charge. Advertisements prepared by McCann-Erickson and paid for by the American Iron and Steel Institute encouraged people to salvage scrap metals. Kenyon & Erickson's campaigns asked people to conserve fats and found a willing sponsor in the glycerine producing industries. Newell-Emmett made poster and pamphlets for the Army, Navy and FBI; Young & Rubicam promoted the government's war bonds.[13]

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[9] Some of the larger projects were assigned more than one project coordinator. The War Bond Drive, for example, had six.

[10] "Advertising Council Serves," p. 28; Jones; "The U.S Office of War Information and American Public Opinion During World war II" (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Binghamton, 1976), pp. 219-220.

[11] "260 Ad Agencies Volunteer Services for War Effort," *Advertising Age*, June 15, 1942, p. 8.

[12] "By-Laws of the Advertising Council Inc.," March 4, 1942, Box 1, Folder: Advertising Council and Council Executive Minutes March-April 1942, Record Group 13/2/201, Ad Council papers.

The first major task for the Council was to organize a large salvage campaign. This campaign was initiated by the Bureau of Industrial Conservation of the War Production Board in April 1942 and aimed at salvaging rubber, metals, fats, and oils for the manufacture of various war materiels. Advertisers in the steel, soap, and automobile industries emerged as natural underwriters in this undertaking. The food industries sponsored a national nutrition campaign under the slogan "U.S. Needs Us Strong. Eat Nutritional Food." In this manner, advertisers could combine their sales objectives with Council promotions. Typical was a Kraft cheese promotion where half of the two-page advertisement displayed a government nutrition table and the other half showed Kraft cheese in appetizing, nutrition-wise servings.[14]

Early Challenges

Some advertisers did not automatically trust the Advertising Council. They claimed that not only did the Council fail to keep the average member of the advertising industry informed, it also acted as if their input did not matter.[15] "The self-appointed men of the Advertising Council have established a contact with the Government that may even prove the undoing of business," claimed a critic. "No provision was made, short of assassination, for the removal of [Council chairman] Chet [Chester] LaRoche,

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[13] James Playstead Woods, *The Story of Advertising* (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1958).

[14] "The Advertising Council," *Advertising & Selling*, July 1942, pp. 9-10; "Huge Salvage Campaign Begins to Take Shape," *Advertising Age*, May 4, 1942, p. 1; "Government and Industry form partnership to promote National nutrition plan," *Printers' Ink*, June 5, 1942, pp. 17-19; "Campaign to salvage grease," *Printers' Ink*, July 24, 1942, p. 27; "The U.S. nutrition project," *Advertising & Selling*, July 1942, pp. 17-18. For a detailed explanation of the considerations involved in carrying out the salvage campaign, see "Big Push on Scraps," *Business Week*, June 27, 1942, p. 20.

[15] "The Council Marches On," *Advertising & Selling*, July 1942, p. 19. See also "The Impact of War on Advertising," *Advertising & Selling*, August 1942, pp. 17-18; "No Time for Weaklings," memo from *Time and Space*, June 22, 1942, Box 1, Folder: Advertising Federation of America, Barton papers.

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for instance."[16] Part of the Advertising Council's response was to open branch offices in Los Angeles, Detroit, and Boston. The hope was to garner broader support in local advertising communities.[17] It also issued a pamphlet, called *A Plan for Business to Use One of Its Principal Tools to Help Win the War*, which explained the Advertising Council's mission and outlined how individual advertisers could help.[18] The Council also made a more conscious effort to involve the several hundred smaller advertising agencies that had volunteered their services.[19]

By the end of 1942, the use of war-theme advertising was on a steady rise. Between one-third and one-half of all consumer magazine advertising, according to one estimate, was predicated upon some phase of the war. The ads fell into three major categories. First there were the "virtually undiluted patriotic appeal," in which the entire copy was devoted to explaining the advertiser's role in the war. Other advertisers devoted their institutional space to "service" copy that instructed consumers on how to take care of their purchases--often for the war's duration--until the manufacturer's products again came on the market. A third group merely sought consumer loyalty by informing the public of their postwar plans. Even companies whose consumer production continued unabated during the war tended to base their regular merchandise advertising upon the war appeal, at least to some degree. For these manufacturers, the war theme simply became a device to obtain increased attention and interest by tying the advertisement in with the public's state of mind. A study of more than 2,000 adver-

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[16] "No Time for Weaklings."

[17] The Advertising Council Inc., "The Advertising Council," p. 5.

[18] "How Advertising can help win war; two workable plans," *Printers' Ink*, July 31, 1942, p. 16. See also The Advertising Council Inc., "A Plan for Business to Use One of Its Principal Tools to Help Win The War," Box 3, Folder: Professional Advertising Organizations - Guides for War-time Advertising, Entry 3B, Office of War Information papers, National Archives II, College park, MD [hereafter: OWI papers].

[19] Letter to Ken R. Dyke from Ralph Allum, June 12, 1942, and letter to Allen Grover from Miller McClintock, May 1, 1942, Box 2, Folder: Advertising Division Correspondence 1942, Entry 3B, OWI papers.

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tisements from weeklies, women's service magazines, and mass-circulation monthlies between May and September 1942 revealed that 40 percent of the ads contained some sort of war appeal. The ratio was highest for the weeklies (48.9 percent) and lowest for women's service magazines (17.9 percent).[20]

Nevertheless, far from all advertisers followed the Advertising Council's guidelines. A concerned member of the Council, Stuart Peabody, urged members of the advertising community to study current national weeklies, women's magazines, and radio programs. "You will find that perhaps a third of the ads in half-page size or larger are devoted to such slants as use of the Little Giant Widget on a tank or a plane or another engine of war," he said. "You will attend several rousing E-flag raisings.... You will discover that not very many advertisers really get down to work on conservation, or morale or nutrition or salvage or bonds or the other urgent needs the public needs to be sold on."[21] Also the president of the Association of American Advertising Agencies (AAAA), John Benson warned advertisers against mixing patriotism with commercial advantage and using war themes as mere attention-getters. Such copy practices, he stated, would attract the wrong kind of attention to the industry.[22]

Public Response to Wartime Advertising

For its part, the public viewed war-theme advertising with mixed emotions. A study released by the Advertising Research Foundation in June 1942, found that most people responded favorably to copy describing a company's role in the war effort and to advertisements that directly appealed for support of the war effort.[23] A poll conducted by the Association of National Advertisers (ANA) in the summer of 1943 concluded that 63 percent of the respondents thought advertising had done a good job of explaining how rationing worked. 82 percent praised advertising's job in selling war bonds, and 55 percent thought advertising had done a good job of delineating America's objectives during the war. A whopping 84 percent of the respondents concluded that advertising contributed to America's war effort in general.[24] While the public was not averse to war-product advertising, it most definitely found boasting objectionable.[25]

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[20] T. Mills Shepard, "What The War Theme Is Doing to Advertising Readership," *Advertising & Selling*, October 1942, p. 13.

[21] "Asks Greater War Effort on Part of Admen," *Advertising Age*, March 15, 1943, p. 8.

[22] "Don't Mix War Themes, Product Copy PAA Told," *Advertising Age*, June 28, 1943, p. 2.

[23] "War Theme Is Tops Again in National Copy, Study Shows," *Advertising Age*, June 28, 1943, p. 38

Boastful advertising aroused resentment and ridicule not only in civilian circles but among enlisted men as well. Overseas military personnel liked advertising for its informative value. They enjoyed reading what people back home were wearing and buying. (Interestingly, they expressed their strong dislike for special magazine editions that did not carry advertising.) Not all forms of advertising passed muster, however. Soldiers objected to ads that described war in glamorous and exciting terms. They often found advertisements' depictions of military scenes and personnel inaccurate and trite.[26] "When men like these pick up a magazine or paper, read advertisements in which the copy writer has sought to give a military flavor to his copy by dragging in a picture of a male model in uniform, they resent it," stated *Printers' Ink*. "They resent it because it is giving a kind of musical comedy flavor to something that's important. To them the army is men, men they know and trust, working very hard under great risks.

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[24] "Advertising at Work," *Business Week*, June 19, 1943, p. 96; "ANA Finds Public Appreciates War Advertising," *Printers' Ink*, June 11, 1943, p. 24.

[25] "Qualms About Advertising in Wartime," *Advertising & Selling*, June 1942, p. 26; "War Advertising Wins O.K., But Boasting Is Out," *Advertising Age*, May 11, 1942, p. 4; "Boasting Decried in War Advertising," *The New York Times*, November 13, 1942, p. 33.

[26] Wood, *The Story of Advertising*, p. 444. In contrast to the Army, which banned advertising in its service publications, the Navy allowed such promotions in some of its publications. See, for example, "Message to Joe," *Business Week*, April 29, 1944, p. 90. For additional information on soldiers' interest in advertisements see William L. O'Neil, *A Democracy at War* (New York: The Free Press, 1993), p. 255.

It is mud and dirt and a chance of getting killed or wounded."[27] Charles Mortimer warned the advertising community that it was "all right to smile about dying for dear old Siwash" but that there were no public laughter when "the agony of death on the battlefield" was used to lure people to "consider the superlative qualities of a cigarette."[28]

Soldiers found manufacturers' tendencies to credit their own products for military successes particularly annoying. This was well demonstrated when the maker of some minor aircraft parts used his advertisement to ask "Who's Afraid of the Big Focke-Wulf?" (referring to a deadly German fighter plane, the Focke-Wulf 190). An American bomber pilot ripped out the ad, wrote "I am" across it, and had his entire squadron sign the ad before he mailed it back to the advertiser.[29] "He [the soldier] knows the true value of that equipment," warned *Printers' Ink*. "His life depends on it--but he knows its faults like a mother."[30]

"Lay off the gallant airmen, valiant tank drivers, glorious American boys bull," advised an advertising executive turned army officer. "Quit playing upon the glories of war with copy by a bunch of guys who never heard a bomb fall and lay off the 'we are Americans we can't lose optimism'." He called for advertisements depicting more realistic war images: "No one gives a damn about Mrs. So and So's silk stocking now serving in the parachute corps."[31]

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[27] "Fighters Tell ANA They Resent Exaggerated Claims in Ad Copy," *Printers' Ink*, June 11, 1943, p. 26.

[28] Charles M. Mortimer, "A Careful and Courageous 'Good and Bad' Wartime Advertising Study," in *A Symposium On Wartime Advertising*, published by the ANA. Box 1, Folder: ANA File 1943-44, Record Group 13/2/305, Ad Council papers.

[29] Lingeman, *Don't You Know*, p. 294; Wood, *The Story of Advertising*, p. 444; O'Neil, *A Democracy at War*, p. 254. For soldiers' objections to war-theme advertising and industry response to these, see "Government Seeks Aid of Advertisers," *The New York Times*, February 11, 1944, p. 23; Eric Sevareid, "Super-Dupering the War," *Saturday Review of Literature*, February 12, 1944, pp. 9-10; "Healy Asks Advertisers to Make War Messages 'More Vital, More Dynamic'," *Broadcasting*, February 14, 1944, p. 13.

[30] "Fighter Tell ANA They Resent Exaggerated Claims in Ad Copy," *Printers' Ink*, June 11, 1942, p. 24.

The War Advertising Council

By mid-1943, the Council's organizing tasks had intensified. Due to a budget crisis in the OWI, the government decided to rely even heavier on help from the Advertising Council in order to get its home-front campaigns across.[32] Responding to the changes, the Council changed its name to the War Advertising Council (WAC) and adopted "A War Message in Every Ad" as its goal and slogan. Council chairman Chester LaRoche, called on the industry to double its contributions, and urged manufacturers to use war-theme advertising in at least one-third of their ads.[33] The Council made it clear, however, that getting one-third of all advertising contributed to the war effort, was an overall goal for the industry. It expected that some advertisers would contribute more and some less.[34]

The WAC categorized wartime advertising into five groups. The first was the "All Out" advertisement, donated by advertisers who willingly devoted their entire advertising space to promoting the government's campaigns.[35] The "Double Barreled Job" referred to advertisements that devoted most of their attention to war themes, but

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31. "Sevareid, *Super-Dupering*, p. 10. For a particularly critical view on the use of soldiers and the armed forces in advertisements see Major Knox Manning, "Speech at U.S. Army Force, at PAA Conference at Frenso, June 14, (probably 1944). Box 5, Folder 6, Brophy papers. For a satirical take on the issue see "Advertising has Gone to War," *Advertising Age*, December 4, 1944, p. 41.

32. "Advertising leaders rally for OWI," *Broadcasting*, July 5, 1943, p. 20.

33. "War Advertising Council Opening Drive for War Advertising Message in Every Ad," *Broadcasting*, July 5, 1943, p. 18;"'War Advertising Council' New Name for Liaison Group," *Advertising Age*, June 7, 1943, p. 2; "'War Message in Every Ad.' Set Up as Goal of Field," *Advertising Age*, June 14, 1943, p. 8; "What Is War Advertising?" *Advertising Age*, June 21, 1943, p. 12; "Advertising News," *The New York Times*, June 9, 1943, p. 28; "$500,000,000 Goal Set By Ad Council," *The New York Times*, June 3, 1943, p. 29; "War Advertising Council-Incorporated Memorandum," July 10, 1943, Box 4, Folder 9, Brophy papers.

34. Frederic Gamble, speech before a meeting of the Southern California chapter of the AAA, October 22, 1943, Box 7, Folder 10, Brophy papers, p. 3.

35. War Advertising Council, "4 Ways to Show Your Colors," Box 3, Folder: Council Promotion 1944, Record Group 13/2/305, Ad Council papers, p. 2.

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also sold the sponsor's merchandise on the side. Advertisers got on a "Sneak Punch" for war themes by working these deftly into their product advertisements. "Plug in a Slug," on the other hand, referred to advertisements that only mentioned such themes in passing. The last, and largest, category was made up of advertisers ignoring the Council's pleas.[36] In early 1944, only 2 percent of all advertisers used the "All Out" approach while 6 percent preferred "Double Barreled" ads. Four percent took advantage of "Sneak Punches" while 22 percent provided a "Plug in a Slug." Much to the war Advertising Council's dismay, a full 68 percent went on with "Business as Usual." [37] The War Advertising Council was not all too happy when a 1944 Gallup poll concluded that one quarter of the nation's households -- nearly 9 million -- were uninformed about the paper salvage campaign and that only 53 percent salvaged paper on a regular basis.[38] Unlike commercial campaigns, which could be considered successful even if they affected only a small percentage of people, stressed the WAC, war campaigns needed to influence "ALL the people...get them to ACT...and to keep on ACTING in ways that w[ould] help win the war."[39]

Close to two years into the war, the War Advertising Council was definitely at an impasse. Not only were advertisers getting tired of the war itself, they were also getting impatient with the Council's endless pleas for support. "We have made more

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[36] "The (S)Word is mightier than the Sword," Box 1, Folder: War Advertising Council, "The Word is mightier than the Sword," Record Group 13/2/300, Ad Council papers; "Advertising News and Notes," *The New York Times*, August 1, 1944, p. 20; "Full Steam for War Themes," *Advertising & Selling*, March 1944, p. 68. See War Advertising council in cooperation with the office of War Information,"Your Advertising Can Save Lives," and War Advertising Council, "Facts You Should Know About the National War Fund" (New York: War Advertising Council, 1944) for examples of different forms of advertising tie-ins.

[37] Don Wharton, "The Story Back of the War Ads," *Advertising & Selling*, June 1944, p. 146. The survey drew data from ten issues of three monthlies, two picture magazines, two women's magazines, two weeklies, and a newsmagazine.

[38] "A Tremendous Job Remains," *Advertising & Selling*, April 1944, p. 36. These findings contradicted an ANA survey from May 1943. Respondents in this survey reported that advertisements had provided them with helpful information about the various government campaigns. Association of National Advertisers, "Public Sentiments Towards Wartime Advertising," Study No. 3, Box 12, no folder, Peter Odegard papers, the Franklin D. and Eleanor Roosevelt Research Institute, Hyde Park, NY [hereafter: Odegard papers].

[39] *Washington Newsletter* (issued by the War Advertising Council), No. 3, September 15, 1943, Box 4, Folder 9, Brophy papers, p. 1.

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than a beginning," observed WAC member and Managing Director of the AAAA, Frederic R. Gamble. "But there is more to be done in the future. The novelty is beginning to wear off and the early enthusiasm with it. We are settling down to the slogging part of the job."[40] Trying to awaken advertisers' interest, the Council started to issue a reference guide for sponsors. Its "War Time Digest" provided background data about campaigns, suggested copy slants and slogans, and informed advertisers about the various campaign.[41]

Under no circumstances did the WAC want to pressure advertisers into compliance, but the need for action was great. "Conformity with normal practices of developing campaigns," Council member and chairman of the Association of National Advertisers (ANA), Charles G. Mortimer, "is preferable to having some Washington Executive make demands on the head of the company."[42] The trade journal *Advertising & Selling*, on the other hand, was more blunt. "The prestige of the advertising profession," it stated, "can be affected by its behavior during the next few months more than at any time since the early stages of the war."[43]

As part of its continuous efforts, the Council's plans for the last months of 1944 included special get-togethers for small groups of select advertisers, and an industry-wide meeting to inspire the continuous effort. "A renewed push by us over the period of the next few months," observed WAC Board member Theodore S. Repplier, "might tip the scales with many advertisers and agencies who are now on the fence about continuation of war themes.[44] *Are We Getting a Little Tired of War?*, a pamphlet written by Charles L. (Roy) Whittier of Young & Rubicam aided the War Advertising Council's cause. Reflecting Whittier's three-month mission to the battlefields of France, Germany, and Italy, the booklet played heavily on sacrifice. It even went as far as showing photos of dead and wounded soldiers as a means of comparing home-front "sacrifices" with those of the fighting front. Its final page depicted three war casualties under the captions: "This man gave half an arm ... This man gave half his eyes ... Will you give half your ads?" The bottom of each page reminded advertisers: "There will be no post-war until the last gun is fired!"[45] The War Advertising Council was delighted to receive scores of letters requesting copies of what would soon become its most widely distributed publication.[46]

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[40] Gamble, speech on October 22, 1943, p. 3.

[41] "Ad Council Record Outlined in Talk by John Sterling," *Advertising Age*, May 1, 1944, p. 45; "Words that Work," p. 5. The WAC also started to classify its campaigns according to their urgency. See, for example, "Council Assigns Emergency Rating to 5 Campaigns," *Advertising Age*, February 5, 1945, p. 51. See also "Home Front Campaigns of the War Advertising Council," *Advertising & Selling*, March 1945, p. 193, and May 1945, p. 169, for examples of such ratings.

[42] Letter to A.N.A members from C.G. Mortimer, September 12, 1943, Box 23, Folder 1, Brophy papers, p. 2.

[43] "Full Steam Ahead," *Advertising & Selling*, January 1944, p. 34. *Advertising Age* expressed similar concerns. See "We Still Have a Job to Do," *Advertising Age*, November 13, 1944, p. 12.

Still, the task of balancing Washington's needs with advertisers' concerns was sometimes very challenging. This was clearly demonstrated in the controversy surrounding a 1944 campaign to prevent the spread of venereal disease.

Conflicting Impulses: The VD Controversy

Most of the Council's many campaigns were well-received. After all, what patriotic American could disagree with the WAC's pleas for conservation, salvage, or the purchase of war bonds? Nor could many object to the its many manpower and

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[44] Memorandum to "Board of directors" from T.S. Repplier, October 20, 1944, Box 1, Folder: War Advertising Council Board of Directors Minutes -- September-October, 1944, Record group 13/2/305, Ad Council papers, p. 3.

[45] War Advertising Council, *Are we getting a little tired of war?* (New York: War Advertising Council, 1945); "Council seeking wider advertising support to combat possible war-weariness," *Printers' Ink*, January 12, 1945, p. 19; "Advertising News and Notes," *The New York Times*, January 15, 1945, p. 25; "Council Booklet Calls for Support of War Theme Ads," *Advertising Age*, January 22, 1945, p. 55; War Advertising Council, "Stirring Call to Action Issued by War Advertising Council," (news release), January 15, 1945, Box 6, Folder: War Advertising Council News Releases 1945, Record Group 13/2/ 305, Ad Council papers.

[46] "Minutes of Meeting -- Board of Directors and Sponsor Members -- War Advertising Council, Inc., December 8, 1944 and February 2, 1945," Box 1, Folder: War Advertising Council -- Board of Directors and Sponsor Members -- Minutes November-December 1944, Record Group 2/13/201, Ad Council papers.

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recruiting campaigns, or its calls for victory gardens.[47] But there was always the possibility that what the government regarded as a socially necessary campaign subject could have negative repercussions for the industry. This would put the WAC, and the industry as a whole, in the uncomfortable position of attempting to satisfy the government without drawing negative attention to itself. Situations like these required the Council to be politically and bureaucratically adept. The public relations benefits of doing the government's bidding would not come automatically. In summer of 1944, the WAC encountered just such a crisis.

It began when the U.S. Public Health Services approached the War Advertising Council with a request for help on a domestic problem. Motivated by the fact that 5 million Americans (many of them members of the armed services) were victims of venereal disease, and that the number of cases was increasing, the government called upon the Council to sponsor a campaign called "The Hidden Enemy -- Venereal Disease," or "Stamp Out V.D." The goal was to inform the American public about the dangers associated with leaving these diseases untreated, and to provide education about their prevention and cures. The WAC agreed to participate in the campaign. It would not be the first organization to place the issue on the public agenda; both the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company and *Readers' Digest* (which then carried no advertising) had attempted to deal with the problem through public service advertisements and articles. The Public Health Service's involvement included an educational film on VD released in the spring of 1944. Much to the agency's regret and chagrin, however, the Legion of Decency and other Catholic interest groups demanded that the film be with-drawn, on the grounds that it did not condemn immoral behavior.[48]

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[47] For a list of the WAC's campaigns between 1942 and 1945 see "Listing of wartime campaigns -- 1942-1945," Box 1, Folder 5, Brophy papers.

The Council's new campaign, prepared by the Warwick & Legert agency, offered new hopes. The project got underway with the mailing of a campaign guide called "Hidden Enemy: V.D." which drew advertisers' attention to the contagious nature and personal suffering associated with social diseases and asked for their support in fighting them. The campaign used "Stamp Out V.D." as its slogan, and introduced a symbol showing Uncle Sam's foot upraised over the letters "V.D." The War Advertising Council advised advertisers to use a straightforward and emphatic approach when addressing the public. It wanted them to stress the preventable and curable nature of the diseases along with the need for new treatment facilities. The campaign asked employers to help, rather than fire, employees afflicted with VD.

The Council warned advertisers against "preaching" to the readers. It also objected to copy that was overly permissive of the diseases as well as ads emphasizing the more horrible aspects of VD. At the same time, however, the WAC warned advertisers against suggesting that VD was without social stigma. The OWI shared the same concern. Its campaign policy guide stressed that venereal disease, although not respecting "sex, race and creed or economic status," was spread by "delinquency, promiscuity, ignorance, poverty and public indifference."[49] The War Advertising Council's preparations included providing sponsors with advertisements and posters. "How does your daughter pronounce gonorrhea?" asked one poster. "That's easy. She doesn't." Others informed the reader that "Science Says VD Can Be Cured" and that "Hiding VD Is

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[48] "'Catholic News' Hits Ad Council for 'VD' Campaign," *Advertising Age*, September 4, 1944, p. 1; "Catholics vs. V.D. Frankness," *Newsweek*, September 18, 1944, p. 84. It is unclear how many of the five million VD infected were soldiers. For an excellent treatment of the Catholic church's attempts at censoring the film industry see Gregory D. Black, *Hollywood Censored* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

[49] "Advertisers Urged to Aid Campaign Against 'V.D.'," *Advertising Age*, August 7, 1944, p. 60; "Agencies Work to Rescue 'VD' Drive Through Revisions," *Advertising Age*, September 18, 1944, pp. 1, 60. Allyn McIntyre from the Pepperell Company was appointed the campaign's manager. He received help from Douglas Meldrum, a WAC staff member. See "'Catholic News' Hits Ad Council."

240

Foolish." The Council's assumption was that national advertisers would support this campaign just as they had supported war bond, manpower, and salvage drives. This strategy did not satisfy critics, who were upset over what they perceived as the Council's unwillingness to discuss the moral issues associated with VD.[50]

Immediately after "Hidden Enemy" had been distributed, it became apparent that many Catholic organizations found the campaign repugnant. The *Catholic News*, a New York-based newspaper, condemned it on grounds that it condoned "the immorality on which most cases of venereal disease are based." The newspaper went so far as calling the Council's effort "A Fraud on Patriotism" and criticized the government's participation. Members of the Catholic clergy and a number of other Catholic newspapers publicly attacked the campaign as well. They claimed (falsely, as the WAC would point out) that the Council's VD information was funded by the public and thus a waste of public funds.[51] The New York chapter of the Knights of Columbus and the New York and New Jersey Catholic War Veterans, an organization counting 51,000 members, voiced similar objections.

The War Advertising Council defended itself by claiming that it acted only through the OWI's directives and that it held no direct responsibility for the campaign. It argued that it had presented the entire project to the U.S. Public Health Service (whose director, Surgeon General Thomas Parran, was himself a Catholic) for review. It also claimed that representatives from the Catholic community, including a member of the clergy, had been consulted. Indeed the Council, realizing the controversial nature of the program, had, if anything, taken extra care in clearing it with religious and medical authorities.[52]

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[50] "Shameless, Sinful," *Time*, October 16, 1944, p. 56. For samples of these VD ads see "Catholics vs. V.D. Frankness."

[51] "War Advertising Council's V-D Campaign Criticized by Catholic Press and Laity," *Printers' Ink*, September 8, 1944, p. 54; "Controversy on the venereal disease campaign," Box 5, Folder 1, Brophy papers.

[52] "War Advertising Council's V-D Campaign;" "Shameless, Sinful"; "Controversy on the venereal disease campaign."

But the critics were not appeased. "The young and inexperienced," fumed the New York State Council of the Knights of Columbus, "should receive information, but at the proper time and from the proper sources." A general advertising campaign, the group claimed, was not the proper medium or a satisfactory substitute for the private counsel from a parent, teacher or spiritual adviser. It urged the WAC to "promote morality and clean living rather than the open and shameless discussion of the checking of diseases contracted through sinful practices."[53] "It seems to us unfortunate," responded *Advertising Age*, "that church leaders, who must admit that the restraints of religious training have not done much to solve this problem, are inclined to attack what after all is a practical method of eradicating a blight on civilization. When religion finds it impossible to control human nature, science must come to the rescue." The journal hoped that advertisers would be so courageous as to continue their campaign.[54] Not wanting to attract unnecessary attention to the issue, the War Advertising Council decided not to take part in a public debate with the *Catholic News* and other Catholic newspapers.[55]

Because few advertisers wanted to be associated with a controversial issues, the adverse publicity seriously affected the WAC's ability to attract sponsors to the campaign. The situation became so problematic, in fact, that the U.S. Public Health Service was forced to meet with the Council and the OWI in order to design a new, and modified, campaign against venereal disease.[56]

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53. "Controversy on the venereal disease campaign," p. 2.

54. "Can Advertisers Fight VD?" *Advertising Age*, September 4, 1944, p. 12.

55. "Minutes of Meeting -- Board of Directors and Sponsor Members -- War Advertising Council, Inc., August 31, 1944," Box 1, Folder: War Advertising Council -- Board of Directors and Sponsor Members -- Minutes July-August 1944, Record Group 13/2/201, Ad Council papers.

56. "Agencies Work to Rescue."

Committed to keeping the campaign afloat, the War Advertising Council now warned copywriters against showing excessive "acceptance" of VD. Instead, it wanted them to emphasize the role "character-building institutions" such as churches, schools and civic organizations could play in fighting these diseases. However, despite strong support from the U.S Public Health Services and the surgeon general, the Council began to realize that its VD campaign was doomed. Its controversial nature had made it impossible to obtain support from many advertisers. "It is possible that some campaigns can be developed which meet the approval of religious groups," said the WAC, "but because of the highly controversial nature of the campaign as it now exists, the Council feels it has an obligation to avoid requesting advertisers to sponsor a program which may generate some ill will toward them."[57]

The most interesting aspect of the failed campaign was that it demonstrated the extent to which the government could rely on the WAC's help. Prior to the VD campaign, the Council tended to favor causes of a noncontroversial nature--e.g. paper drives and victory gardens--which were intrinsically patriotic contributions to the war effort.[58] The advertising industry's cooperation with the OWI and similar agencies worked well as long as the Council restricted its campaigns to projects that enjoyed universal support. But it broke down when advertisers fled from a manifestly controversial issue like VD. Fearful of finding themselves at the center of controversy, individual advertisers did not stop to consider how their refusal to support the Council's campaign might undermine the public's view of the advertising community's commit-

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[57] "Controversy on the venereal disease campaign," p. 4; "Council drops venereal disease campaign," *Printers' Ink*, September 29, 1944, p. 32; "Minutes of Meeting -- Board of Directors and Sponsor Members -- War Advertising Council, Inc., September 15 and September 22, 1944, Box 1, Folder: War Advertising Council -- Board of Directors Minutes -- September-October 1944, Record Group 13/2/201, Ad Council papers. *The New Republic* was among those regretting the campaign's demise. See "Catholics and Venereal Disease," *The New Republic*, October 9, 1944, p. 446.

[58] Robert Merton's analysis of the entertainer Kate Smith's marathon broadcast over the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) during the third War Bond drive in September 1943, shows how the Council used its campaigns as a means to align itself with patriotism and patriotic causes. Robert K. Merton, *Mass Persuasion* (New York: Harper & Brother Publishers, 1946).

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ment to the war effort, especially if this commitment excluded cases and issues where advertisers' immediate commercial interests were at stake. Just as seriously, in terms of building good relations, was the potential such actions had for jeopardizing the War Advertising Council's relationship with the Office of War Information. The Council learned from its brush with criticism during the VD campaign. Thereafter, its strategy was to steer clear of campaigns that suggested controversy.

Conclusion

In spite of the advertising community's not-so-visionary members, the (War) Advertising Council managed to run a remarkable tight ship. In contrast to those advertisers who feared that association with controversial issues might cause financial harm, and those who plainly did not care about the Council's work on behalf of the entire advertising community, the Council's organizers demonstrated a remarkable commitment to their cause. When the war ended in 1945, the (War) Advertising Council had encouraged the American public to purchase more than 800 million war bonds and to plant 50 million victory gardens. In addition to several million dollars raised for Red Cross and the National War Fund drives, it had fought inflation, recruited military personnel, spread information about a wide range of salvage campaigns, and enlisted workers for industrial war-plants. All in all, it had been involved in more than 150 different home-front campaigns and contributed more than $1 billion towards the war effort.[59] On an industry level, the Council's biggest victory was a dramatic improvement in the relationship between Washington and advertisers.[60]

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[59] Advertising Council Inc., *In the Wake of War* (n.d.), Box 1, Folder: The Advertising Council Inc., Files of Dallas C. Haberstadt, the Harry S. Truman Library, Independence, MO, pp. 5-7.

[60] Letter to Harold Thomas from Franklin D. Roosevelt, December 7, 1944, Box 5, Folder: The President's Letter 1944, Record Group 13/2/305, Ad Council papers; "Ad Council Sheds War Mantle to Embark Upon Peace Program," *The New York Times*, November 1, 1945, p. 38; Letter to T.S. Repplier from H.B. Lewis, November 13, 1945, Box 3, Folder: Council-Future Plans 1945, Record Group 13/2/ 305, Ad Council papers.

By any criteria, the (War) Advertising Council had grown dramatically and had played a significant part in the domestic war effort. But while there is no doubt that many of those connected with the Council displayed a strong patriotic sentiment, the Advertising Council's overriding *raison d'etre* was always to provide public relations benefits to the advertising industry. This was the context for understanding the its motives and actions when dealing with recalcitrant advertisers and public opinion and also the reason why so many industry leaders wanted its operations continued into the postwar era.

By the end of the war, it had become almost self-evident to the Council that its benefits were such that it needed to reconstitute as a permanent organization. According to its chairman, James Webb Young, the Council had "discovered and demonstrated a technique of advertising which [had] increase[d] the effectiveness and power of advertising."[61] Other industry observers agreed. "I feel that we should recognize at the outset what already has been accomplished in the way of public relations," said one near the war's end. "We have accomplished a good deal in a short time."[62] Indeed, the War Advertising Council had fired the imagination of the entire industry, enabling many of its practitioners to see the benefits of maintaining such an organization in the postwar world. The goodwill resulting from the Council's work, clearly outweighed the frustrating task of organizing and coaching the advertising community. One exciting lesson learned during the war, according to the Council, was how advertising could be put to new uses.[63]

After the war, the Council was no longer affiliated with the government. It took back the Advertising Council as its official name and was now free to chart its own course. Whereas the Council's wartime campaigns had asked people to plant vegetables and purchase war bonds to express their patriotism, its postwar campaigns redefined the meaning of this noble sentiment. If the public relations benefits of the Advertising Council had primarily accrued to the advertising industry during the war, in the post-war years those benefits extended to the entire corporate community. Campaigns like "People's Capitalism" and "The Miracle of America" were designed to promote the virtues and advantages of a capitalistic world-view. "The Advertising Council's new goal," argues Robert Griffith, was to "Promote an image of advertising as a responsible and civic-spirited industry, of the U.S. economy as a uniquely productive system of free enterprise and of America as a dynamic, classless and consensual society."[64] To the extent that these goal could be accomplished, Council leaders appeared more than willing to continue their arduous task of coaching the advertising community.

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[61] Minutes of Meeting Board of Directors and Sponsor Members, War Advertising Council Inc., September 28, 1945, Box 2, Folder: War Advertising Council Minutes September-October 1945, Record Group 13/2/201, Ad Council papers, p.3.

[62] Memo to Harold Thomas from A.E. Winger, August 17, 1944, Box 1, Folder: War Advertising Council -- Board of Directors and Sponsor Members -- Minutes July-August 1944, Record Group 13/2/201, Ad Council papers, p. 1.

[63] "Business Men Urged to Weigh Social Responsibilities," Advertising Council Press release, November 20, 1945, Box 6, Folder: WACouncil News Releases 1945, Record Group 13/2/305, Ad Council papers, p. 3.

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[64] Griffith, "The Selling of America," p. 388.

THE EFFECTIVENESS OF COMPARATIVE ADVERTISING AMONG KOREANS:

Is It Effective to Increase the Intensity of Comparison over Time?

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ABSTRACT

Despite the popularity of comparative advertising (CA), few studies have explored how to develop this strategy outside the United States. This study reports the results of an experiment conducted in South Korea, a country where CA is rarely used. Two hundred Korean college students were exposed to fictitious advertisements in which the independent variable of comparison intensity (non-comparative/low/medium/high/increasing) and exposure sequence (first/second/third) were manipulated. The dependent variables of attitude toward the brand and purchase interest assessed advertising effectiveness. Results suggested that the effectiveness of comparative advertising in Korea could be improved by increasing the intensity of comparison gradually from indirect (low) to direct (high) over time.

INTRODUCTION

During the past quarter century, comparative advertising (CA) has been one of the most popular advertising message formats in the United States since the Federal Trade Commission's informal encouragement of explicit comparisons in 1972 (Barry 1993b). Numerous research efforts have been devoted to this area, and the majority of CA studies have explored the effectiveness of CA by contrasting CA with non-comparative advertising (NCA). Although the effectiveness of CA, according to the large body of extant empirical research, seems to be equivocal, most researchers concur that CA is more effective than NCA under some conditions. The CA research seems to be exhausted in terms of finding critical variables that influence consumers' responses. Several recent studies summarized and conceptualized the outcomes of CA studies during the last 25 years (Barry 1993a; Barry 1993b; Grewal et. al. 1997). Previous CA studies can fall under the combinations of three kinds of variables as shown in <TABLE 1>.

Dependent variables fall under the three broad categories of consumer response: cognitive, affective and conative (Lavidge and Steiner 1961). Independent variables can be categorized as either external or internal. External dimensions are beyond the control of the CA execution itself. For example, "product types" and "market position (of the sponsored brand)" are aspects that the CA message cannot modify. Moreover, these variables are inevitably shown implicitly or explicitly in the ad. Internal dimensions can be modified by CA executions. "Source credibility" has been one of the most extensively researched internal aspects.

Nonetheless, some issues still have received limited attention. First, since previous CA research was conducted in the U.S. among American consumers, few studies argue that their findings are applicable outside the United States. Within other cultures, both external and internal independent variables can be greatly effected due to different circumstances such as different consumers under different legal status of CA. A recent study focusing on cross-cultural issues of CA argued that CA is not a universally accepted advertising format due to consumers' reluctance and the illegal status of CA in some countries (Donthu 1998). According to Donthu's research, in some countries like Hong Kong, Belgium, and South Korea, CA is illegal. Moreover,

< TABLE 1 > The Major Variables and their Literature

Variables	Representative Studies
Dependent Variables	
Cognitive - Attention - Awareness (Recall) - Information processing - Believability	Wilkie and Farris (1975), Barry and Trambly (1975), Prasad (1976), Pride et. al. (1977), Jain and Hackleman (1978), Grossbart et. al. (1986), Pechmann and Stewart (1990)
Affective - Attitude toward the ad - Attitude toward the product	Belch (1981), Swinyard (1981), Etgar and Goodwin (1982), Shimp and Dyer (1978), Droge (1989), Muehling (1987)
Conative - Intention to purchase	Shimp and Dyer (1978), Iyer (1988), Droge (1989)
Independent Variables	
External	
Product Type - Functional vs. Psychological - Involvement (High vs. Low)	Etgar and Goodwin (1977), McDougall (1978), Ash and Wee (1983), Droge (1989), Muehling et. al (1990)
Market Position - Low-share vs. High-share - New vs. Existing	Iyer (1988), Pechmann and Stewart (1990), Droge and Darmon (1987), Gnepa (1993), Auken and Adams (1998)
Cross-culture - CA Usage (Dominant vs. Rare)	Donthu (1998)
Internal	
Source Credibility - High vs. Low	Gotlieb and Sarel (1991), Belch (1981), Boddewyn (1978), Kelly (1972)
Message Type - One sided vs. Two sided	Swinyard (1981), Etgar and Goodwin (1982)
Types of Comparison - Superiority vs. Parity	Buchanan and Smithies (1989), Barry (1993b)

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even though it is legally allowed, CA format is not frequently used in many countries outside the U.S. It is questionable whether CA is as effective in other countries as much as it is in the U.S.

Second, previous CA studies lack a long-term perspective. Most CA studies have been pre-post experimental research designs (e.g. Pride et al. 1977; McDougall 1978; Shimp and Dyer 1978). That is to say, CA researchers examined consumers' responses, which are dependent variables, at one-time (one-shot study) rather than conducting multi-shot study. Therefore, these studies cannot address the managerial implications regarding long-term management of a CA campaign. Lamb, Pride and Pletcher (1978) proposed a taxonomy of comparative advertisements. They argued that the characteristics of comparative advertisements are determined by the intensity of comparisons for the most part. In their taxonomy, the intensity of comparison has three levels - "low," "moderate," and "high." In the long-term perspective, it is important to consider which one of the three levels of CA would be effective for inaugurating a campaign and which one would be useful for the last period of an advertising campaign.

Examining the cultural issues in light of Lamb, Pride and Pletcher's (1978) taxonomy may prove beneficial. The consideration of the intensity of comparison of CA can reduce barriers to executing CA in some countries where the CA format has traditionally not been popular. According to a recent cross-cultural CA study (Donthu 1998), people of countries that have rarely been exposed to CA formats are more likely to have negative attitudes toward the advertised brands as well as the comparative ads themselves. The main consideration involves reducing consumers' negative attitudes toward CA formats in those countries. Some countries that had banned CA have recently permitted its use. South Korea is one of those countries. Traditionally, Korean consumers have been often exposed to indirect CA (claiming the superiority or parity of the sponsored brand without referring any competing brand's name), but rarely to direct CA (explicit reference of any competing brand's name).

The purpose of this study was to investigate the effectiveness of presenting comparative advertisements that vary in intensity of comparison over time to Koreans as determined by their affective and behavioral intention responses.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH DESIGN

Repetition and Strength of Advertising Claims

Although several studies have confirmed the positive effect of repetition and strength on cognitive evaluations (Crowder 1976; Singh et al. 1994; Pechmann and Stewart 1988; Singh, Rothchild, and Churchill 1988), there is no consensus as to whether the effect is still valid for the affective evaluation. Some studies reported that attitudes toward messages could be more preferable as the number of repetition is increased (i.e., Schumann, Petty, and Clemons 1990; Belch 1982; Cacioppo and Petty 1979; Zajonc 1968). Others focusing on "wear-out" phenomenon insist that as a new stimulus is repeated, people are likely to have negative attitudes toward it due to the monotonous mood and tedium (Berlyne 1978; Mitchell and Olson 1977; Ginter 1974; Winter 1973). Nevertheless, most research supports the idea that the repetition of message could decrease the uncertainty and conflict formulated by message.

Generally, strong arguments seem to be more effective in persuasion than weak arguments. In the process of information gathering, strong arguments are expected to yield preferable cognitive and affective responses, while weak arguments are to result in counter-argument or negative responses (Petty and Cacioppo, 1981; Petty, Cacioppo, and Schumann 1983). A study examining the intensity of arguments (Petty, Cacioppo, and Heesacker 1981)

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suggested that strong arguments were perceived as more logical, reinforced and fair than weak arguments. Furthermore, CA research has rarely addressed this concern. Although most CA studies have talked about the effectiveness of the CA format (strong argument) compared to the non-comparative format (weak argument), few studies have concentrated on the variation of intensity of comparison. A few studies (Pechmann and Stewart 1991; Pechmann and Ratneshwar 1991) explored the comparison between direct CA - strong argument - and indirect CA - weak argument, and they agreed upon the fact that direct CA would be more effective for cognitive and affective responses than indirect CA.

The reason why only a few studies focused on the variety of CA in terms of the intensity of comparison is mainly due to the lack of clear definition of CA. In fact, while most of the early researchers in this field included direct CA in the category of CA format (e.g. Levine 1976; Prasad 1976; Pride et al. 1979), some researchers considered indirect CA as a type of CA and compared it to NCA (e.g. Shimp 1975; McDougall 1978; Wilson 1978; Ash and Wee 1983).

This study takes a somewhat broad definition of CA by including indirect as well as direct CA formats. Lamb and his colleagues (1978) provided an advanced and broader perspective toward comparative advertising (CA) by proposing a taxonomy of CA. Their taxonomy has two factors that determine the characteristic of CA: "Direction (Association or Differentiation)" and "Intensity of Comparison (Low-Medium-High)." The direction differentiates two types of CA claims: "stressing similarity message" and "stressing differentiation message." This study focuses on the intensity of comparison rather than the direction of message. A modification of Lamb, Pride and Fletcher's (1978) taxonomy is shown in < TABLE 2 >. Differentiation and association in terms of the direction of message can apply to

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these three categories. The conceptualization of each category stems from the overlapped concepts of differentiation and association messages.

< TABLE 2 > Taxonomy for Comparative Ad by the Intensity of Comparison.

LOW	The advertisement does not identify the competing brand(s) by name, but casually refers to it in other ways such as "the leading brand."
MEDIUM	The name of the competing brand(s) is identified but is mentioned infrequently. The comparison does not occur on a point-by-point basis.
HIGH	The competing brand name(s) is identified and is mentioned frequently in a point-by-point comparison.

Note) This taxonomy adopted and modified Lamb, Pride, and Fletcher's (1978) taxonomy.

Carry-Over Effects of Advertising Message

With the long-term perspective, it has been a critical issue among advertising practitioners how much they could draw from the advantages or disadvantages from previous ad campaigns to the current one. Advertising effects have been generally reported to accumulate over time rather than appearing and disappearing in a short time (Belch 1982). If this is true, the following critical questions should be addressed: "How long are the ad effects maintained continuously?" or "How much do the ad effects decrease over time?" However, this carry-over effect can vary by the type of brand (new vs. existing), the consumer's information processing ability, the degree of memory reinforcing, the product category, and the time of research execution.

Krugman (1972) empirically examined the carry-over effect of advertising, and concluded that consumers require at least three times of exposures to an ad in order to influence their intention to buy the advertised product. According to his explanation, when first exposed to an ad, a consumer responds "What is it?" At the second exposure, (s)he thinks "What does that product mean to me?" The consumer may decide whether to purchase at the third exposure.

Although the purchase decision is depending upon all other marketing mix factors such as price, quality, and package (Clarke 1976; Palda 1964; Sawyer and Ward 1977), it is generally accepted that there is a kind of carry-over effect, and most media planners employ this concept, "effective reach as 3," in their media scheduling strategy. Therefore, exposure frequency is an appropriate independent variable for examining the impact of comparative advertising.

South Korea and Comparative Advertising Usage

As Donthu (1998) examined, South Korea as well as most Asian countries has not legally allowed comparative advertising (CA), especially direct CA for a long time. Regardless of its legal status, the advertising communities of those countries have implicit understanding that CA will not be used. Advertisers fear the counter-effect against their brand image if they use CA format, which is traditionally perceived as taboo.

Traditionally, Buddhism and Confucianism have become the philosophical foundations for the Korean value system. Within the context of Buddhism, the possession of material things and other secular desires have been considered trivial (Kim 1996). Since the fifteenth century, Confucianism has also been thoroughly institutionalized and systematically diffused into the Korean society (Yum 1987). This philosophy defines proper human relationships as the basis for a just society, and also emphasizes the value of cooperation rather than competition (Kim 1996). As a result, the virtue of benevolence and unobtrusive manner permeates Korean culture. In fact, Confucianism has influenced Korean religious life for a long time, and has had an overwhelming effect on the social and political aspects of the culture. Therefore, the deeply ingrained Confucian mode of manners and social relations is still a major factor in the way Koreans think and act (Korean Overseas Information Service pp.137-140). One of the disciplines this philosophy emphasizes is the goodness of unobtrusiveness; therefore, Koreans have regarded it ill-mannered

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behavior to argue one's comparative merits against others (Osgood 1951). This chronic ideal has made CA be interpreted as criticizing and attacking other competitors through advertisement – even with correct information. As such, CA is considered "unethical" in the Korean value system (Kim 1996).

However, this country has rapidly been westernized especially during the last three decades. Therefore, the government has deregulated the CA format recently. During the last decade, Korean consumers have become increasingly exposed to some indirect advertisements, although most were regulated by government based on the "unfairness" rule. Finally, since July 1, 1999, a new advertising act has been inacted. Based on this new policy, advertisers can compare with other competitors with specific information claims, only if the information is objective and correct (Korean Broadcasting and Advertising Corporation 1999). The most important change due to this policy is that Korean advertisers can name the competitors.

In fact, during the last several decades, the Korean Fairness Trade Committee - a FTC of Korea - strictly regulated some comparative advertisements, even though most were indirect CA. Recently, some advertisers tried to execute indirect CA format and gained high effectiveness. For example, *Asiana Airlines,* the second largest airline, challenged against their competitor, No.1 Korean Air, with a CA campaign. Although it was an indirect CA format without referring to the name of competitor, most consumers would know to whom *Asiana Airlines* referred. Because there have been only two airlines in South Korea, their indirect CA was not much different from direct CA format. Their headlines were "*Could you take a new plane, or an old one?*" They stressed on their comparative advantage over their competitor; in fact, their planes were less than 10 year old ones, while the leading brand's planes were more than 20 years old. Although their claim was not deceptive and based on the fact, the competitor accused *Asiana Airlines*, and the argument was seriously continued for a while. Although there is a governmental moderator, the Fair Trade Committee - a FTC of Korea - mediating this kind of problem, the effectiveness of its authority has not clearly solved problems. Moreover, once being involved in the legal argument, the brand image of sponsored product as well as the competitor's one was usually damaged.

Although the new advertising policy allowed advertisers to execute direct CA, advertisers are still reluctant to use direct CA due to the social atmosphere, which has been traditionally built by Buddhism and Confucianism as previously described. Therefore, it is a critical issue how to employ CA format without alienating the target consumers or damaging one's brand image. Under some situations, it has been reported that indirect CA is more effective than non-CA (NCA) for cognitive responses in Korea (Lyi 1988; Kang 1989).

However, it is unknown whether the message of strong intensity of comparison, direct CA, is effective for affective or behavioral intention dimensions in Korea. Based on the previously discussed concepts, "the intensity of comparison" and "three exposures for carry-over effect," the current study focuses on the managerial effectiveness of CA message variations in terms of the intensity of comparison over time. Specifically, this study examines the effectiveness of the message presentation from the lowest level of comparison intensity to the highest one. The former is familiar to Korean consumers, but the latter is not. Therefore, this study explored if Korean consumers can adapt themselves to this relatively new format of advertisement. Specifically, affective as well as behavioral intention dimensions of Korean consumers' evaluations of the advertised product were explored. The following hypotheses are expected to explore the long-term effect of CA with the variation of the intensity of comparisons:

H1: There will be some significant differences in the attitudes toward (A_{BR}) and purchase interests (PI) on the sponsored product based on the intensity of comparison.

H1a: Comparative ad will be more effective than non-comparative ad.

H1b: As intensity of comparison increases, the ad will be more effective regardless of exposure.

H2: Ad effectiveness will increase over time.

H3: There will be an interaction between exposure and intensity of comparison: As intensity of comparison increases from low to high, ad effectiveness increases (A_{BR}, PI)

METHODOLOGY

The independent variables were manipulated in a three shot pre-post experiment with level of comparison intensity (non-comparative/low/medium/high/increasing) and exposure (first/second/ third) – repeated measure. Two hundred Korean college students attending a private English class during winter vacation served as the convenience sample. The procedure was conducted three times over nine days with 3-day intervals between each data collection. Special concern was paid to the maintenance of samples. With the consent of lecturer, all students in the class voluntarily participated in the first test, and 180 provided complete data for all three exposures and thus provided the usable sample. The balance among the five experimental groups (See FIGURE 1) was more or less achieved. In fact, completing three-time experiment, the number of valid participants within each treatment group was ranged from 34 to 40.

Since the class was held during vacation and all students voluntarily took the class, the concern of sample maintenance was the most critical issue in this study. To encourage attendance and participation, small accessories were given to all participants as compensation after each data collection procedure. Prior to data collection for each of the three exposures, confidentiality was emphasized. In order to identify the subjects' questionnaires, each participant was assigned an individual identification number. Therefore, researchers could match their three questionnaires and know which of the five treatments they had experienced. To encourage subjects to report their identification number for each of the two subsequent exposures, demographic questions were omitted. However, some descriptions of the sample in terms of demographic aspects is possible. In general, the subjects were 18-24 and included both men and women. The gender composition was roughly even.

During the first data collection procedure, subjects were randomly assigned to one of the five experimental groups representing the five levels of comparison intensity. < Figure 1 > shows the experiment process over the three exposures. The non-comparative advertisement served as the control. Fictitious advertisements representing the manipulations of comparison intensity were presented to subjects. The test advertisements expressed the levels of comparison intensity in both visual and textual components. Each subject saw only one ad on each separate day of data collection. Intensity of comparison was constant across the 3 ads (except for the "increasing intensity" treatment). However, due to the forced exposure of the stimulus and resulting concern that the students might get bored which would influence their attitude scores, slight differences in copy were presented (See Appendix). In fact, it has been regarded to be the threat to internal validity to do repeated measures with maintaining subjects, for the problem of maturation can happen within the respondents over time (Kerlinger and Lee, p.470). In order to minimize this threat, it was necessary to have some cosmetic variations of advertisements over time within the same groups. Subjects were allowed to see each ad for 2 minutes. After receiving a self-administered questionnaire that assessed affective and behavioral measures, subjects were not allowed to return to the ad.

< FIGURE 1 > The Process of Experiment

Groups	1st Exposure		2nd Exposure		3rd Exposure
CONTROL	NCA A	⇒	NCA B	⇒	NCA C
LOW	LOW A	⇒	LOW B	⇒	LOW C
MEDIUM	MED A	⇒	MED B	⇒	MED C
HIGH	HIGH A	⇒	HIGH B	⇒	HIGH C
INCREASING	LOW A	⇒	MED B	⇒	HIGH C

Note) LOW A Means the "first (A) comparative ad with low intensity of comparison

Development of Ad Stimuli for Manipulation of Comparison Intensity

The product used in the experimental ads was a notebook computer. First, personal computers were taken as the experimental product category, for it is generally regarded that the participants of this study, the college students, frequently use this product, regardless of gender. Prior to this main experiment, a pre-test was conducted to determine the type of computer and the competing brand with 60 Korean college students. The results showed that approximately half of them (48.3%) wanted to buy notebook computers followed by Pentium desktop computers (38.3%). (Regarding the competing brands, five major computer manufacturers were referred to and the leading brand of notebook computers, IBM, was ranked No.1 as the most favorable computer among them (75%). Therefore, IBM ThinkPad Notebook computer was selected as the competing brand.

Advertisements for a fictitious brand of computer and its features were created. All features were made with thorough consideration to compete with IBM ThinkPad. For instance, the brand name was made in English using three characters (ESN: Easy Speed Notebook) in order to be similar to IBM. Based on the taxonomy proposed in <TABLE 2>, each ad was manipulated with the variation of intensity of comparison. The ad messages presented took the differentiation type rather than the association one. Since differentiation is much more widely used form than association (Lamb, Pride, and Fletcher 1978), all ads used in this study employed differentiation formats. Non-comparative ads were shown not to claim any superiority (See Appendix B). The operational definitions of the three levels of comparison intensity and the control (non-comparative) are presented in < TABLE 3 >.

< TABLE 3 > Operational Definitions for Levels of Comparison Intensity

Level	Descriptions
Low Intensity CA	Claiming superiority to any anonymous competing brands.
Med Intensity CA	Identifying the competing brand without detailed comparisons.
High Intensity CA	Identifying the competing brand with comparison in detail.
Non-CA (Control)	No claims for superiority or comparison

Dependent Variables

The questionnaire used for all three exposures was same. Three questions were designed to measure affective dimension, while other three questions measured the behavioral intention dimension. In order to verify the reliability of the test ads, last question was added and asked, "The ad is credible." Because the ad was fictitious, it was necessary to verify the subjects perceived the ad as credible. All seven questions used a 7-point bipolar *Likert* scale (1 – strongly disagree, 7 – strongly agree). The scales used for the dependent variables are summarized as follows.

(1) Attitudes toward the sponsored brand (A_{BR}) are composed of three sub measures which translate as follows: "Preference - I prefer the product of the ad," "Liking - I like the product of the ad, " and "Expectation - I expect the product of the ad is better than other brands." These three items were calibrated to measure the overall attitude toward the product. The mean score of these three measures was used for the overall attitudes toward the product. Cronbach's alpha coefficient values supported this decision. For each exposure, the Cronbach's alpha values were all larger than .70 (.76, .83, .89), the recommendable threshold to consider that all sub-categorical variables measure the same main variable (Nunnally 1978).

(2) Purchase intentions of the sponsored product (PI) are also composed of three sub-categorical measures which translate as follows: "Likelihood of purchase - I am likely to purchase the advertised product in the future," "Expectation - I expect, the function of product is beneficial to me," and "Expected satisfaction – If purchased, the product can satisfy me with its merits." Cronbach's alpha coefficient value of each exposure was ranged from .71 to .92, which verifies these three items measure the same variable, the overall purchase intentions.

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Each hypothesis was analyzed by comparing means with the GLM (General Linear Model) framework procedure, which makes allowance for unequal cells in the ANOVA procedure (SAS Institute, pp.893-895). The following tables show the mean scores of each measurement by different treatment over time. Based on the outcomes shown in these tables, each hypothesis was examined.

< TABLE 4 > Mean Scores of Attitudes toward the Brand and Purchase Interests

Attitude Toward The Brand Means*

Comparison Intensity		Exposure			Mean (H1)
		1st	2nd	3rd	
CONTROL**	(n=34)	3.69	3.88	3.99	**3.86**
LOW	(n=34)	3.44	4.12	4.00	**3.85**
MEDIUM	(n=37)	3.81	4.24	4.30	**4.12**
HIGH	(n=35)	4.26	3.94	3.66	**3.96**
INCREASING	(n=40)	3.72	4.23	5.43	**4.46**
Mean (H2)		**3.78**	**4.08**	**4.31**	

Purchase Interest Means*

Comparison Intensity		Exposure			Mean (H1)
		1st	2nd	3rd	
CONTROL **	(n=34)	3.62	3.35	3.18	**3.38**
LOW	(n=34)	3.35	3.75	4.16	**3.76**
MEDIUM	(n=37)	3.42	4.26	4.21	**3.96**
HIGH	(n=35)	4.28	3.96	3.62	**3.95**
INCREASING	(n=40)	3.73	4.08	5.40	**4.40**
Mean (H2)		**3.68**	**3.90**	**4.15**	

* Assessed on a 7-point scale where a higher means indicates a greater purchase interest.

** The Control Group saw a non-comparative advertisement.

The Effectiveness of CA with the Intensity of Comparison (H1)

First, the attitudes toward the sponsored brand (A_{BR}) showed significant differences among five different treatments. Regardless of the exposure time, as shown in < Table 4 >, the "Increasing" group participants showed the most preferable attitudes toward the product (mean = 4.46) followed by "Medium (4.12)," "High (3.96)," "Control (3.86)," and "Low (3.85)" groups.

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Specifically, a post hoc test (*Tukey*) showed that the overall differences are resulted from the significant differences between "Increasing" - "Control" and "Increasing" - "Low" with significance level of .05.

Similarly, "purchase interests (PI)" also showed significant differences among the five groups due to the large PI mean score of "increasing" group (4.40). As shown in < Table 5 > previously, the ranks of others are also almost same as A_{BR} case: "Medium (3.96)" – "High (3.95)" – "Low (3.76)" – "Control (3.38)." Specifically, the "Increasing" treatment showed more significant effects on PI than "Control" and "Low" treatments.

Overall, hypothesis 1 was moderately supported. Although all five treatments did not show significantly different effects on A_{BR} and PI, the overall comparison among them verified significant differences. The "Increasing" treatment was the most effective one.

< TABLE 5 > Comparison Intensity among Five Different Treatments

ANOVA Results

Attitudes Toward the Brand (A_{BR})

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Prob. > F	Diff. (p < .05)
Model	4	9.607	2.40	3.04	.0187	Increasing – Control
Error	175	138.30	.79			Increasing – Low

Purchase Interests (PI)

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Prob. > F	Diff. (p < .05)
Model	4	20.134	5.03	5.97	.0002	Increasing – Control
Error	175	147.647	.84			Increasing - Low

Additionally, analysis was conducted to compare the five experimental groups in each exposure time. Regarding attitudes toward the brand, for the first exposure, there was a significant difference for A_{BR} (F=2.94 / p=.02) among five groups, specifically due to the significant difference between "High (mean=4.28)" and "Low (mean=3.35)." Although having no differences in the second exposure, significant differences was found in the third exposure

(F=11.51 / p=.001) due to the large score of "Increasing" treatment. In fact, this group showed significantly higher effectiveness than the other four groups.

The analysis of "purchase interests" in each exposure also showed similar results. All three exposures produced high F-values, thus satisfying the significance level of .05. Specifically, the result of the final exposure was almost same as the A_{BR} case. In fact, the large score of "Increasing" group resulted in the significant difference among the different treatments.

The Carryover Effects of CA (H2)

Since the "exposure" of three shots was not a categorical variable, GLM (General Linear Model) allowed examination the carry-over effect. Specifically, the repeated measure function was used in the analysis. Therefore, the interaction between the three-time exposure effect and the variation of intensity of comparison was also examined in the same procedure of GLM.

According to the result of comparison among the three exposures, both attitude toward the brand (A_{BR}) and purchase interest (PI) showed significant differences over time < TABLE 6 >. That is to say, based on the increasing trend in < FIGURE 2 >, participants were likely to have more positive attitudes and intentions over time. The differences among the three groups (1-2, 2-3, and 1-3) were all statistically significant ($p < .0001$). Thus, hypothesis 2 was supported.

< TABLE 6 > Comparison among Three Exposures and Its Interaction with Different Treatments

Attitudes Toward the Brand (A_{BR})

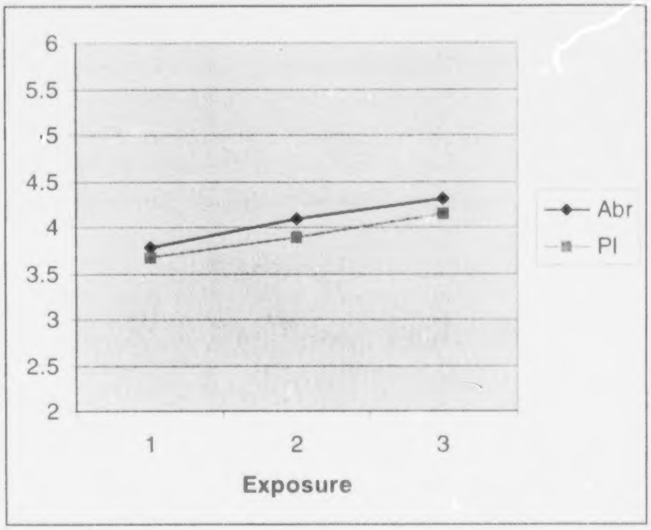
Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Prob. > F
Exposure (H2)	2	21.877	10.94	16.40	< .0001
Interaction* (H3)	8	58.611	7.326	10.98	< .0001
Error (Exposure)	350	233.443	.67		

Purchase Interests (PI)

Source	df	Sum of Squares	Mean Square	F Value	Prob. > F
Exposure (H2)	2	16.90	8.45	10.56	< .0001
Interaction* (H3)	8	80.14	10.02	12.52	< .0001
Error (Exposure)	350	280.04	.80		

* Interaction = Exposure x Treatment (Group)

< FIGURE 2 > Changes of A_{BR} and PI Over time



The Interaction of Carryover Effect with the Intensity of Comparison (H3)

Hypothesis 3 examined the interaction relationship between the "exposure" over three times and the intensity of comparison with five different treatments. As shown in < TABLE 6 >, the result showed that there was a significant interaction between the two variables for both attitude toward the brand (A_{BR}) and purchase interest (PI). The significant interactions in A_{BR} resulted from the score of "low intensity" group's first exposure score (3.44) and some the higher scores of "medium intensity (2nd exposure – 4.24 and 3rd exposure – 4.30)," "high intensity (1st exposure – 4.26)," and "increasing (2nd exposure – 4.08 and 3rd exposure – 5.43)." Especially, the mean of "increasing" group's final exposure (5.43) showed significant differences with all other interactions according to *Tukey* test results. The *Tukey* result in purchase interest also showed similar trend. The highest mean score among all fifteen interactions (3 exposures x 5 treatments) was the final exposure of "increasing" group (5.40), and this showed significant differences with all other interactions. Some other comparisons between interactions also contributed to this

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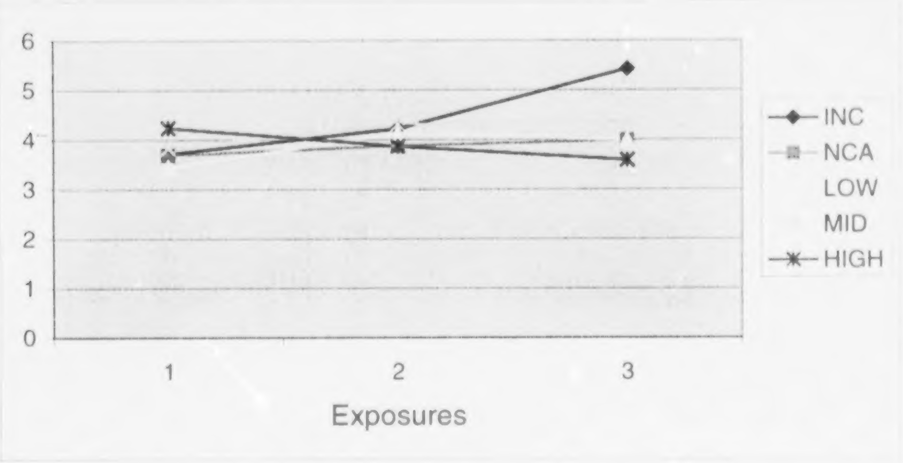
result. Those include interactions showing lower mean score of PI such as "control – 2nd (3.35) and 3rd (3.18)" "low – 1st (3.35)," and "medium – 1st (3.42)" as well as some interactions having higher scores of PI – "medium – 2nd (4.26) and 3rd (4.21)," "high - 1st (4.28)," "increasing – 2nd (4.08) and 3rd (5.40)." Therefore, hypothesis 3 was firmly supported.

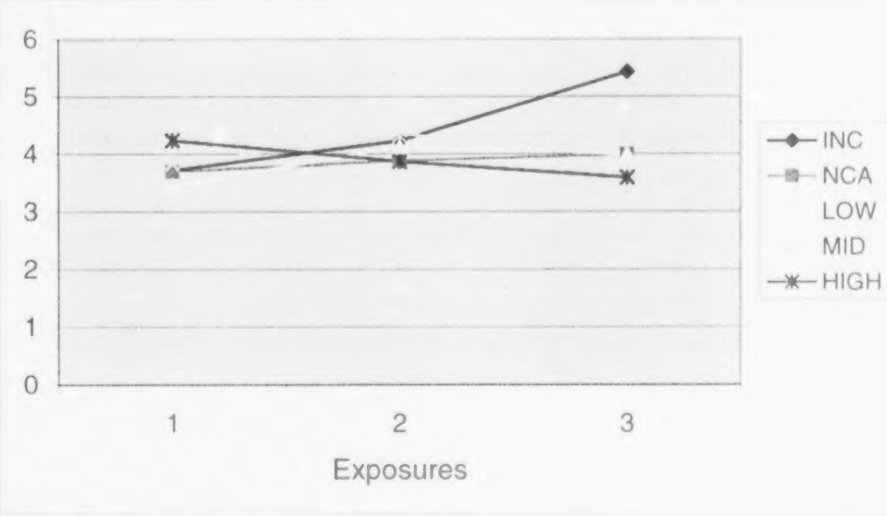
Analyzing by groups, as shown in < FIGURE 3 > and <FIGURE 4 >, "control" subjects showed a decrease in their purchase interest scores, while their A_{BR} scores increased. This contradictory result of control group can be congruent with the body of repetition effect literatures, which are also controversial on the effectiveness of message repetition as previously noted.

The most interesting contrast resulted from the trend of "high" intensity group, in which participants showed the significant decreasing affective and behavioral intention scores over time, while the other groups receiving different comparison intensives - "low," "medium," and "increasing" - showed moderate or sharp increasing trends. Especially, "high" and "increasing" groups showed completely opposite trend over time in both dependent measures (A_{BR} and PI). These two groups' contrasting trend contributed to the significant interaction between the "exposure" and "the intensity of comparison." Overall, the repetition of "high" intensity of comparison message caused negative effect, which is not congruent with the American literature, while the "increasing" treatment was proved to be effective toward the sample of this study: Korean college students.

< FIGURE 3 > Changes of Attitude toward the Brand Score in each group over time



< FIGURE 4 > Changes of Purchase Interest scores in each group over time



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Additionally, these overall findings are also reflected in the credibility test for each advertisement. The experimental group evaluated the final ad ("high" intensity) as the most credible when compared to other groups' evaluations on final ads. The only exception was the comparison of the "increasing intensity" group and the "high intensity" message group in the first exposure. In fact, "high" intensity group evaluated the first ad more credible than the "increasing" intensity group did on the first exposure ("low" intensity). This implies that CA of high intensity of comparison can be evaluated more credible than CA of low intensity of comparison.

DISCUSSIONS AND MANAGERIAL IMPLICATIONS

This study focused on a neglected area of CA study: varying intensity of comparison over time and cross-cultural reaction to comparative advertising. Based on the CA literature, this study assumed that CA is more effective than non-CA under some circumstances, and aimed to examine the effectiveness of CA by varying the intensity of comparison over time in terms of affective and conative responses. This study can be evaluated to a start in order to overcome the frequent limitations of previous CA studies with three-shot experiment. The focus was on an experiment group, which was exposed "low" intensity CA first followed by "mid" and "high" intensity CA. The current study mainly analyzed the changes of the "increasing" intensity group over time and compared it with other groups, which were exposed to the CA messages with maintaining the same intensity of comparison. In both affective and conative dimensions, the "increasing" group showed the most preferable attitude toward and the highest purchase interest in the sponsored product. Briefly, the CA strategy with gradual increases of the intensity of comparison over time was found to be effective compared to the strategy of maintaining the intensity to Korean consumers, especially the strategy of direct CA repetition ("high" intensity group).

This study can yield some helpful implications for advertising practitioners who manage international advertising campaigns from a long-term perspective. They can benefit from the consideration of the management of the intensity of comparisons across different countries, which have different cultural and legal situations regarding CA. Specifically, international advertising planners need to execute relatively indirect comparative advertisements in the launching stage and to increase the intensity of comparison up to direct comparative advertisements when aiming at South Korean consumers. This study can provide a possible example of an effective strategy of advertising campaign with CA formats in the long run for consumers who have been rarely exposed to direct comparative advertising. It is needed to understand and adopt the underlying cultural values and situational factors such as government policy for most international advertising planners.

Although aiming at some previously uninvestigated of CA research, this study has inevitable limitations, especially validity concerns. First, the representativeness of sample would be problematic. The college students can hardly represent all whole Korean consumers. Moreover, the sampling procedure was conducted as convenience sampling, which was gathered in a class. This may distort the truth of the population. Second, the management of each test was cumbersome work, and it could evoke some minor problems due to the respondent biases. Since only two researchers handled two hundred participants in each test, it could hardly take the benefit of experiment: "control." Further studies need to employ more researchers to supervise the large size of participants. Third, it took only one product category, which is a high-involvement product. The involvement has been reported a critical variable in CA effect research; however, this study overlooked this. Finally, the general limitation of experimental design can harm the external validity. One suggestion can be helpful for any further study to overcome this limitation. In-theater experiment can offer the "realistic" situation without Hawthorne effect, which resulted from the participants' recognition of being observed.

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The Effects of Ethnic Identification on Multicultural Adolescents' Evaluations of Ads

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Abstract

This manuscript examines whether the strength of ethnic identity influences multicultural adolescents' responses to ads featuring models of different races and their responses to ads featuring race-specific cultural cues. The researcher digitally manipulated the race of characters in ads and the number of race specific cultural cues in the ads while maintaining all other visual features of these ads. Three hundred forty-nine black, white, Hispanic, and Asian-American. Adolescents evaluated black character or white character ads. The findings indicate that high black ethnic identifiers and low black ethnic identifiers responded, in part, differently to culturally embedded ads. The findings also indicate that ethnic identity has some influence on white, Hispanic, and Asian-American adolescents.

The Effects of Ethnic Identification on Multicultural Adolescents' Evaluation of Ads

The strength of ethnic identity may have a significant effect on consumers' evaluations of ads, yet this is a concept that is often overlooked by researchers. While much of the advertising research in this area has focused on the mediating effects of consumers' race or ethnicity, the use of "ethnic identification as a means of classification may provide greater discriminating power than more traditionally used measures of ethnicity" (Deshpande, Hoyer, & Donthu, 1986, p. 217). In fact, the scant research has shown ethnic identification to be a contributing cultural variable in consumers' purchase behavior (Donthu & Cherian, 1992; Hirschman, 1981; Webster, 1994), media use (Deshpande et al., 1986; Donthu & Cherian, 1992), and evaluation of ads (Whittler, 1989, Green, 1999). It is believed that the more race-specific cultural cues used in an ad targeting minorities (e.g., blacks) the more they, particularly minorities with strong ethnic identities, will find the ad appealing. This paper examines the effects of ethnic identification on white, black, Hispanic, and Asian-American adolescents' evaluation of race-targeted advertisements. The paper will review the relevant literature on ethnic identity and then provide a theoretical rationale as to why ethnic identification may influence minority adolescents' responses to ads.

Ethnic identity is defined as a person's knowledge of his/her membership in a social group and the value and emotional significance attached to that membership (Phinney, 1992). Strong or high ethnic identifiers should display attitudes and behaviors that are consistent with the core cultural values (e.g., customs, language, dress, foods, religion, product use, and media use) of their ethnic group, which should thereby lead to a preference for ads and other media that depict these cultural values. In contrast, consumers who maintain weak or low ethnic identities should display attitudes and behaviors that are less consistent with traditional cultural values and closer to those of the dominant culture. Compared to strong ethnic identifiers, weak ethnic identifiers should demonstrate less of a preference for ads and other media that depict their cultural values.

Donthu and Cherian (1992) found support for their belief that strong Hispanic identifiers' behavior reflects traditional Hispanic values and attitudes, while weak Hispanic identifiers' behavior is diluted by the dominant culture. They argued that the stronger the ethnic identity the more loyal ethnic groups are to their traditional values and the more likely they are to exhibit these values. This is evident in their research which showed that strong Hispanic identifiers vis-à-vis weak Hispanic identifiers were older, more brand loyal, had more ethnic pride, and used more Spanish language magazines and newspapers--all characteristics that are consistent with traditional Hispanic values.Moreover, such characteristics exhibited by strong Hispanic identifiers have led them to be less likely to use coupons (Donthu & Cherian, 1992), and more likely to buy brands advertised to their ethnic group (Deshpande et al., 1986) than weak Hispanic ethnic identifiers. Other research has shown that a positive relationship between Hispanic ethnic identification and husband dominance in household purchase decisions (Webster, 1994).

Similarly, the strength of ethnic identification has also been shown to influence purchase behavior and media use of black consumers. This is evidenced by research that shows black colleges students (Whittler, 1989) and black female adults (Green, 1999) who identified more strongly with black culture responded more favorably to black models in advertising than did blacks who were low on cultural identification. Moreover, Green (1999) found that blacks with weak ethnic identities favored white models and general-audience media over black models and black-oriented media.

Adolescents' Ethnic Identity Formation

In exploring the impact of viewers' cultural identification on their evaluation of ads, previous studies have focused specifically on adult consumers. Yet, evidence reveals that ethnic identity is important and salient for adolescents as well (Phinney, 1992; Takanishi, 1982). During adolescence teenagers engage in identity exploration and experimentation (Erikson, 1968; Marcia, 1980) that leads to decisions and commitments concerning the role of ethnicity in their lives (Phinney, 1992).

One model that must be considered when attempting to better understand adolescents' ethnic identity formation is Marcia's (1966, 1980, 1987, 1993) four statuses of identity: diffuse, foreclosed, moratorium, and achieved identity. Marcia's model is based on two dimensions--commitment, which is characterized by one's dedication; and exploration, which involves a period of self-examination and reflection (Ying & Lee, 1999). In this model a person who has neither engaged in identity exploration nor made a commitment is considered to be diffuse. Adolescents who have not been exposed to ethnic-related issues, are uninterested in ethnicity or have given ethnicity little thought are expected to be diffuse (Phinney, 1989; Phinney, 1990). Foreclosed represents an identity commitment made by adolescents without exploration. This status generally reflects parental teachings (Ying & Lee, 1999) or the values and attitudes learned from other influential people (Phinney, 1989, 1990). Adolescents involved in questioning, exploring, and searching to better understand their own ethnicity without having made a commitment are said to be in moratorium. This stage often occurs as a result of a significant life experience (e.g., a discriminatory event) that prompts awareness of one's ethnicity (Phinney, 1990). A firm commitment to and deeper understanding of one's ethnicity following a period of exploration leads to an achieved identity.

Macia's developmental model implies that with increased age, adolescents are more likely to explore and eventually reach an achieved ethnic identity. There are number of studies that provide support for this model. In a study conducted by Phinney & Tarvey (1988) they found that one-third of black and white 8th graders showed evidence of ethnic identity search (moratorium), while in a related study (Phinney, 1989) nearly fifty percent of 10th graders showed signs of ethnic identity search. This suggests that as adolescents get older they engage in more ethnic identity searching and exploring. Ying and Lee (1999) also found support for the ethnic identity developmental model. In a study on Asian-Americans they found that foreclosed adolescents were significantly younger (i.e., 15 years) than those in moratorium (16 years) or achieved (18 years); and those adolescents in moratorium were significantly younger than those adolescents in achieved. In other words, evidenced showed adolescents were likely to progress from a foreclosed status to one of moratorium and then to ethnic identity achievement.

The ethnic identity stages have also been shown to influence minority adolescents' perceptions of and preferences for same-race models. For example, research shows that black students in the early stages of ethnic identity prefer white models, whereas those in later stages show a preference for black models (see Morten & Atkinson, 1983; Parham & Helms, 1981; Pomales, Claiborn & LaFromboise, 1986).

The stage model provides a clear and suitable description of the manner in which ethnic identity may be manifested as adolescent grow older. As Phinney (1990) suggests this developmental "process does not necessarily end with ethnic identity achievement but may continue in cycles that involve further exploration or rethinking of the role or meaning of one's ethnicity" (p. 503). Yet still Macia's and Phinney's model imply a somewhat stagnant sense of affiliation with one's ethnic group. An alternative worth considering is the process model which suggests that ethnic identity formation is a dynamic process, which is likely to be modified with varied life experiences and contact with people different from oneself (Ying & Lee, 1999). The process model is particularly compelling given recent evidence that suggests adolescents report feeling varying degrees of ethnicity depending on the situation they encounter and the people with whom they interact (Rosenthal & Hrynevich, 1985).

Cultural Embeddedness of Ads

Given the substantial amount of literature that points to the salience of ethnicity during adolescence, it is worth exploring whether the strength of ethnic identity influences adolescents' responses to ads featuring models of different races and their responses to ads featuring race-specific cultural cues.

In addition to an almost exclusive focus on adults, previous studies (e.g., Green, 1999; Whittler, 1989; Williams & Qualls, 1989) have used black and white character ads that contained few race-specific cultural cues. Ads that contain cultural cues are likely to heighten consumers' sense of ethnic identity and their appreciation for ads, particularly for numeric minorities. Cultural cues refer to the values, symbols, ethics, rituals, traditions, material objects, and services produced or valued by either black or white members of society, which stimulate when, where, and how they respond.

Ads rich in cultural cues may be considered culturally embedded, which is conceptualized as the degree to which cultural cues are present in an ad. For example, black character ads that are high in cultural embeddedness are filled with black cultural cues. Black character ads that are low in cultural embeddedness contain few, if any black cultural cues outside the race of the character. Like ads that simply contain black characters, culturally embedded ads may be particularly appealing to black adolescents who maintain strong ethnic identities.

Few black character ads are culturally embedded. Most black character ads lack black cultural cues (e.g., vernacular, dress, images, symbols) and are often in cultural settings that are so "de-ethnicized" they are difficult for black youth to identify with (Fost, 1993). In fact, most cultural cues present in ads featuring black models reflect white cultural values (Bristor, Lee, & Hunt, 1995). These black character ads are, in other words, low in black cultural embeddedness. This method of advertising to black audiences could be enhanced by taking into account a broader set of factors: factors such as marketing to black audiences' cultural heritage (e.g., jazz, blues, gospel, foods, history), and using ads that are high in black cultural embeddedness.

While there is little if any information on the effects of high culturally embedded ads, there is a solid body of advertising research on the effects of low culturally embedded ads. Previous character race studies have used black character ads that contained few black cultural cues. They were, in other words, low in black cultural embeddedness, although they were not designated as such. Similarly, ads containing white characters have had few white cultural cues, making these ads low in white cultural embeddedness. The evidence from these studies is useful in understanding and highlighting how audiences respond to ads low in cultural embeddedness and provide insight into how audiences might react to ads high in cultural embeddedness. However, past advertising research seems to take for granted or completely ignore theoretical explanations of why either the audience or the ad character's race should make a difference in how viewers respond to media messages. For example, what theories provide a better understanding of the psychological mechanisms at work when adolescents are exposed to advertisements with black and white characters within low or high culturally embedded environments? Identification theory and distinctiveness theory are particularly relevant in addressing this issue; and, the notion of source similarity provides the conceptual framework necessary to understand and apply these theories.

Source Similarity & Racial Differences in Ad Response

Some researchers argue that ads are most effective when the symbols, characters, and values depicted in the ads are drawn from the intended audience's cultural environment (McGuire, 1984; Pitts, Whalen, O'Keefe, & Murray, 1989), which allows the audience to better identify with the message and the source of the message. Individuals who are more likely to identify with media characters (Huesman, Eron, Klein, Brice, & Fischer, 1983) and perceive themselves to be similar to media characters (Brock, 1965; Burnstein, Scotland, & Zander, 1961) are more influenced by media content in which those characters are portrayed. Studies have shown that high levels of similarity between the viewer of an ad and the characters featured in an ad increase the viewer's belief that he/she is the intended audience for the ad, which in turn leads to more positive attitudes about the ad and the product (Aaker, Brumbaugh, & Grier, 1996).

One significant cue of similarity between a viewer and the character in an ad is race. This may be especially true for racial minorities for whom race is more salient. The race of a model in an ad may be particularly instrumental in inducing racial minorities (e.g., blacks) to infer similarity or dissimilarity (Whittler, 1989). There is evidence that black audiences are more likely to identify with, and rate more favorably, ads featuring black characters than ads featuring white characters (Choudhury & Schmid, 1974; Greenberg & Atkin, 1982; Whittler, 1991; Whittler, 1989). In contrast, members of a racial majority (e.g., whites) seem to be less mindful of a model's race and focus on similarities between themselves and the source that are less race-specific (e.g., values, dress, lifestyle, appearance) as evidenced by studies which show that white audiences respond just as favorably to ads with black models as they do to ads with white models (Bush, Hair, & Solomon, 1979; Schlinger & Plummer, 1972; Whittler, 1991).

Theoretical Framework

Identification Theory

Identification theory (Kelman 1961) maintains that people automatically assess their level of similarity with a source during an interaction and make similarity judgments (Hovland and Weis 1951; Kelman 1961). This process drives individuals to choose models based on perceived similarities between themselves and the model (Kelman 1961; Basow and Howe 1980). When viewers perceive that the source possesses characteristics similar to their own such as race, they begin to infer that the source will also share other characteristics, all of which lead to greater identification (Brock 1965; Feick and Higie 1992). Studies have shown that individuals who are more likely to identify with television characters are more affected by the media content in which those characters are engaged (Huesman et al., 1983). Viewers who do not identify with television models based on race or ethnicity may identify with other characteristics that the model possesses. Identification often occurs when individuals infer that their tastes and preferences are similar to those of the source (Eagly, Wood, and Chaiken 1978).

Among white youth, strength of racial identity may play little if any role in how they respond to advertising. White adolescents may not think of themselves as distinctly part of a particularly ethnic group. As a racial majority, whites are less conscious of their status in society. This is evidenced by research that shows that minority group members consistently place higher importance on their racial and ethnic identity than whites (Phinney, 1992). Since majority white viewers are less concerned and less conscious of race, the model's race in an ad may not seem to matter to whites (Whittler 1989). What may be more important to white audiences is their ability to understand, relate to, and perceive similarities with black models in advertising in areas that are not just skin deep. In fact, evidence shows that whites are more attracted to blacks with beliefs, values, and personalities, similar to their own than they are to whites who are different with respect to the same characteristics (Smedley & Bayton, 1978).

Distinctiveness Theory

Distinctiveness theory maintains that a person's distinctive traits (e.g., red hair, African-American) will be more salient to him or her than more prevalent traits (e.g., brunette hair, Caucasian) possessed by other people in the environment (McGuire 1984; McGuire, McGuire, Child, and Fujioka 1978). This is particularly true for people who belong to a racial or ethnic group that is part of a numeric minority. Black people, for instance, would be highly aware and mindful of their race in personal and mediated situations as a result of being a numeric minority in the United States.

The effect is true in mediated situations as well. Because ethnic minorities see a world on television in which they are, for the most part, invisible, they are likely to be more sensitive to their presence in the media than whites who see a world on television that is unrealistically populated with people like themselves (Barcus, 1977).

It appears that racial and ethnic minorities spontaneously evoke their racial and ethnic identities in social and mediated environments where their group is minimally represented. In the United States, racial and ethnic identity or consciousness appears to be of particular importance to black adolescents, but its significance for white adolescents is low and not likely to grow until whites are no longer in the majority in specific settings (Phinney 1992). However, when "whites are the minority, they show traits like ethnic minorities in society" (p. 170). These findings lend support to distinctiveness theory which posits that ads targeting white or black audiences will be more effective the more the racial group is in a numeric minority (Desphande and Stayman 1994). Additionally, it is believed that the more race-specific cultural cues used in an ad targeting minorities (e.g., blacks) the more minorities, particularly minorities with strong ethnic identities, will find the ad appealing. This discussion leads to the following hypotheses.

H1: High black ethnic identifiers will perceive themselves more similar to black characters in ads high and low in cultural embeddedness than will low black ethnic identifiers.

H2: High black ethnic identifiers will identify more strongly with black characters in ads high and low in cultural embeddedness than will low black ethnic identifiers.

H3: High black ethnic identifiers should be more mindful that they are the intended audience of black character ads high and low in cultural embeddedness than will low black ethnic identifiers.

H4: High black ethnic identifiers will rate more favorably black character ads high and low in black cultural embeddedness than will low black ethnic identifiers.

H5: Neither ethnic identity nor cultural embeddedness of ads will affect white, Hispanic or Asian-American adolescents' responses to ads.

Method

Design

The experiment employed a 2 (high or low ethnic identifier) by 4 (high black culturally embedded ad, low black culturally embedded ad, high white culturally embedded ad, low white culturally embedded ad) between-subjects design to test the hypotheses for each racial/ethnic group (i.e., black, white, Hispanic, and Asian-American). The four dependent variables were: 1) perceived similarity to characters; 2) identification with characters; 3) belief ads intended for them; and 4) attitude towards the ads.

Subjects

Three hundred forty-nine high school students (ages 14-19, median age 17) participated in the experiment: 81 blacks, 92 whites, 92 Hispanics, and 84 Asian-Americans. Sixty-two percent were male and thirty-eight percent were female. Subjects were drawn from five economically and socially diverse high schools--four in Southern California and one in Northern California.

Stimulus Materials

Stimuli consisted of full-color 81/2" x 11" photographic ads for three products: Cheerios Cereal, Irish Spring Soap, and Oscar Mayer Wieners. This study examined differences in adolescents' responses to ads filled with and dominated by cultural cues. Ads rich in cultural cues were considered culturally embedded, which is conceptualized as the degree to which cultural cues were contained in an ad. To achieve different levels of cultural embeddedness, three product ads that contained either black or white characters were digitally manipulated to vary the race of the characters and the number of race specific cultural cues present in each ad while holding constant all other visual features. For example, black character ads low in black cultural embeddedness contain few, if any black cultural cues outside the race of the character. These black character ads low in black cultural embeddedness were then digitally enhanced with the addition of several traditional black cultural cues such as black family portraits, black dolls, and African masks to create black character ads high in black cultural embeddedness.

Effort was made to use equivalent black and white cultural cues in each high culturally embedded version of the ad. For example, a picture of a white man hugging his newborn child was one of the white cultural cues added to the white character Irish Spring ad low in white cultural embeddedness to make it high in white cultural embeddedness. Similarly, a picture of a black man hugging his newborn child was added to the black character Irish Spring ad low in black cultural embeddedness when transforming it into an ad high in black cultural embeddedness. Using this innovative technique, any differences in students' responses to ads with black characters or ads with white characters must be attributed to the cultural cues present in the ads.

Four ad types were created for each of the three stimulus ads and placed in 1/2-inch binders. Each binder contained only one of the four ad types. Each student was randomly assigned a binder with one of the four ad types for each product: 1) black character ads low in black cultural embeddedness (LBCE); 2) black character ads high in black cultural embeddedness (HBCE); 3) white character ads low in white cultural embeddedness (LWCE); and 4) white character ads high in white cultural embeddedness (HWCE).

Senior executives at Burrell Communication Group in Chicago, the largest black advertising firm in the country, reviewed the low and high culturally embedded ads featuring black characters, and confirmed that these ads contained cues specific to black culture. Similarly, executives at Foote, Cone, and Belding in San Francisco, a leading general market advertising firm, evaluated the low and high culturally embedded ads featuring white characters and confirmed that these ads contained cues specific to white culture. The following is a description of the four versions of each product ad:

> Cheerios Cereal Ads. The Cheerios ad shows a father standing in the doorway of the son's bedroom, eating a bowl of Cheerios. The son is sitting in his bed eating a bowl of the cereal. The text reads "Nobody Can Say No to Honey Nut Cheerios." With the exception of the race of the characters, the LBCE Cheerios ad and the LWCE Cheerios ad are identical.
>
> Three black cultural cues were digitally added to the LBCE ad to make it HBCE. On the wall is a team photo of the 1931 "Homestead Grays" from the Negro Baseball League. Another picture on the bedroom wall shows a shirtless black man with his arms raised high in the air. His wrists are handcuffed by the American flag. In large red print

the caption says, "BlackLash." The last picture is a poster of a black face with the text, "Love Your Self."

Similarly, white cultural cues were added to the LWCE ad to make it HWCE. A Norman Rockwell print entitled, "The Rookie," was added to the background wall. The 1957 print shows several all white Boston Red Sox baseball players in the locker room staring at a young rookie who appears to have just joined the team. The second white cultural cue was another Norman Rockwell print entitled, "Our Heritage." This print shows two white boy scouts holding an American history book while staring in the background at a full-size picture of President George Washington praying on bended-knee. An American flag was digitally added to the lower left corner of the print.

Irish Spring Soap Ads. The Irish Spring ad shows a man posing next to a chair and a large plant. In front of the chair is a large picture of a bar of Irish Spring Sport Deodorant Soap. The text in the center of the ad reads, "Fresh & Clean with Irish Spring! The Deodorant Soap." With the exception of the character's race, both low culturally embedded ads for the white and black character are identical.

Two black cultural cues were digitally added to the background wall of the LBCE ad to make it HBCE. A large African mask was placed on the wall to right of the black character. To the right of the mask a large picture frame was hung on the background wall, which pictured a shirtless thirty-something black man hugging his newborn child. Similarly, two white cultural cues were digitally added to the background wall of the LWCE ad to make it HWCE. A picture of white hands holding a white Greek-like sculpture was added to the wall. To the left of the sculpture was a picture of a shirtless thirty-something white man hugging his newborn child.

Oscar Mayer Wieners Ads. The Oscar Mayer ad shows a man sitting in his home office desk chair with his son standing by his side. The two characters face the camera smiling. To the right of the characters is a small but wide bookshelf. On the top right of the bookshelf is a trophy and a soccer ball. On the floor next to the bookshelf is a basketball and a skateboard. Directly below the father and son is the caption, "Being a Dad...doesn't come with instructions. It's trusting yourself to make the right choices. Here's one choice that's easy. Oscar Mayer!" Below the text is a picture of a hot dog on a bun with a package of Oscar Mayer Wieners pictured below. The race of the father and son was digitally altered to produce a LBCE ad and a LWCE ad.

Three black cultural cues were digitally added to produce a HBCE ad. A black family portrait was framed and placed on the bookshelf. A black female porcelain doll was inserted to the right of the family portrait. Also, a picture of several runaway black slaves walking through a forest in search of their freedom was added to the wall. Similarly, three white cultural cues were digitally added to the LWCE ad to produce a HWCE ad. Reminiscent of immigrants arriving to America, a picture of several ships passing the Statue of Liberty during a large fireworks celebration was placed on the wall above the shelf. A white family portrait was framed and placed on the bookshelf, as was a white female porcelain doll.

Procedure

Students were told that they would be participating in an advertising survey designed to determine the types of ads they like best, which would enable researchers to improve the look, style, and content of those ads. After the briefing, students were randomly assigned a binder from one of the four conditions.

Each binder contained five, color, 81/2" x 11" photographic ads in clear plastic page protectors. Three products--Cheerios Cereal, Irish Spring Soap, and Oscar Mayer Wieners--made up the experimental ads while two other ads were used to disguise the purpose of the study. A questionnaire corresponding to each ad (i.e., Cheerios, Irish Spring, Oscar Mayer) was in the binder next to each ad. Subjects completed each questionnaire immediately after viewing each ad. For example, students opened the binder to the first experimental ad (e.g., Cheerios LBCE), reviewed the ad, and then completed the questionnaire pertaining to that ad. Eight percent of the students indicated at least some knowledge of the study purpose and were excluded from the overall analysis. Once the questionnaires were completed, students who did not identify themselves as black or white on the questionnaires were excluded from further analysis.

Measures

The measurement instrument collected information for four dependent variables: 1) perceived similarity with characters; 2) identification with characters, 3) ads intended for them; and 4) overall attitude towards the ads.

Attitude towards the Ads Scale. For each stimulus ad subjects' were asked to provide their attitude toward the ad using eleven, 7-point semantic differential scales: boring/interesting, bad/good, negative/positive, useless/useful, worthless/valuable, poor/outstanding, not for me/for me, weak/strong, not appealing/appealing, not attractive/attractive, not likable/likable. The coefficient alphas for the Cheerios attitude toward the ad scale, Irish Spring attitude toward the ad scale, and the Oscar Mayer attitude toward the ad scale were .96, .95, and .94, respectively.

Perceived Similarity Scale. Students rated their degree of similarity to the characters in each ad in terms of overall lifestyle, cultural background, dress, appearance, and basic values (Whittler, 1989). A similarity scale was created by averaging the mean scores from each of the five scales. For this scale coefficient alphas were computed for each product: Cheerios (alpha = .86), Irish Spring (alpha = .89), and Oscar Mayer (alpha = .91).

Other Measures. Subjects were asked to indicate how strongly they identified with the characters in each ad (Aaker, et. al., 1996) on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from not at all (one) to very strongly (seven). Subjects indicated whether they thought each ad was intended for them (Aaker, et. al., 1996) on a seven-point Likert scale ranging from disagree completely (one) to agree completely (seven).

Race & Ethnicity of Participants. Subjects were given a list of racial and ethnic groups from which to choose. Subjects who identified with more than one racial or ethnic group were not included in the analysis. Fourteen subjects indicated that they were biracial.

Ethnic Identity. The Multigroup Measure of Ethnic Identity (Phinney, 1992) was used for its distinct advantage of being applicable to ethnically diverse samples. Five statements assessing ethnic attachment, feelings about ethnic background, happiness with ethnicity, ethnic pride, and sense of ethnic belonging were used to measure the overall strength of adolescents' ethnic identity (see Affirmation & Belonging Scale, Phinney, 1992). Each item was measured using a 7-point scale ranging from strongly disagree (one) to strongly agree (7). An ethnic identity scale was created by averaging the mean scores from each of the 5 items, which yielded a coefficient alpha = .87. The median ethnic identity scores for black, white, Hispanic, and Asian-American adolescents were 32, 25, 30, and 31 respectively. High and low ethnic identifiers scored either above or below the median for their racial group.

Results

An aggregate scale composed of responses from all three ads (i.e., Cheerios cereal, Irish Spring soap, and Oscar Mayer wieners) was created for each dependent variable. For example, the mean scores for the dependent variable "identification with characters" were computed for each of the three ads. The mean scores were then summed and divided by three to produce an aggregate scale for the variable "identification with characters." Using this same procedure, aggregate scales were created for each of the four dependent variables.

While some researchers have uncovered interesting findings from consumers' responses to ads based on subjects' exposure to only one product ad (e.g., Qualls & Moore, 1990), any generalizations made may be premature since consumers often provide responses that are product-specific (Engel, Blackwell & Miniard, 1995; Muse, 1971). Unlike past research, this study exposed each subject to three product ads. Subjects' responses for each of the three ads were aggregated so that more conclusive generalizations could be made. Aggregating the ads helped minimize the skewing effects of any one ad. That is, the aggregate scale summarized the general significance of the set of ads and may provide more conclusive information than a study with just one product ad.

The results of the experiment are presented and discussed according to the hypotheses presented earlier. A series of two-way analyses of variance for all hypotheses are given below. Only significant main effects and interactions were mentioned in the results. These same analyses are conducted for each dependent variable. The means for all independent and dependent variables are presented in Table 1–Table 8.

Perceived Similarity Aggregate Scale. Hypothesis one predicted that high black ethnic identifiers will perceive themselves more similar to black characters in ads high and low in cultural embeddedness than will low black ethnic identifiers. The results showed a marginally significant interaction between ethnic identity and cultural embeddedness (F (3, 75) = 2.37, p < .10). This interaction revealed that black adolescents with high ethnic identity perceived themselves more similar to black characters in ads high in black cultural embeddedness (M = 5.10) than did black adolescents with low ethnic identity (M = 4.07, p < .10). Similarly, high black ethnic identifiers perceived themselves more similar to black characters in ads low in black cultural embeddedness (M = 5.03) than did low black ethnic identifiers (M = 3.82, p < .10). Although marginally significant, these results show evidence that black adolescents' perception of similarity is affected by ethnic identity. Hypothesis one is supported.

Identification with Characters in Ads Aggregate Scale. Hypothesis two predicted that high black ethnic identifiers will identify more strongly with black characters in ads high and low in cultural embeddedness than will low black ethnic identifiers. A marginally significant interaction between ethnic identity and cultural embeddedness (F (3, 74) = 2.12, p < .10) was found. Closer examination of the means indicated that high black ethnic identifiers more strongly identified with black characters in ads low in black cultural embeddedness (M = 4.82) than did low black ethnic identifiers (M = 3.26, p < .05). However, ethnic identity did not influence black subjects' identification with black characters in ads high in cultural embeddedness. This provides only partial support for hypothesis two.

Belief Ads Intended for Them Aggregate Scale. Hypothesis three predicted that ethnic identity would influence black adolescents' belief that they were the intended audience of ads. A significant main effect for cultural embeddedness indicated that black adolescents' were more likely to believe they were the intended audience of black culturally embedded ads than they were culturally embedded ads with white characters (F (3, 75) = 2.60, $p < .05$). However, these results failed to support hypothesis three.

Attitude towards the Ads Aggregate Scale. Hypothesis four predicted that high black ethnic identifiers would rate more favorably ads high and low in black cultural embeddedness than would low black ethnic identifiers. Although a main effect for cultural embeddedness revealed that black adolescents rated black culturally embedded ads more favorably than white culturally embedded ads (F (3, 66) = 6.17, $p < .001$), no support was found for hypothesis four.

Insert Table 1 - Table 4 about here

Hypothesis Five. Hypothesis five predicted that neither ethnic identity nor cultural embeddedness of ads would influence white, Hispanic or Asian-American adolescents' responses to ads. This hypothesis was not supported. A significant interaction between ethnic identification and cultural embeddedness (F (3, 84) = 2.69, $p < .05$) was found for white adolescents' perceived similarity to characters. Closer examination of the means indicated that white adolescents with high ethnic identities perceived themselves more similar to white characters in ads high in white cultural embeddedness (M = 4.62) than did white adolescents with low ethnic identity (M = 3.14, $p < .001$).

Further analyses showed that white adolescents' belief of being the target of ads was affected by the cultural embeddedness of the ads. A significant main effect for cultural embeddedness (F (3, 75) = 3.25, $p < .05$) was found. This main effect indicated that white adolescents' overall were more likely to believe they were the intended audience for low black culturally embedded ads (M = 3.44) than they were for other black or white culturally embedded ads (HWCE M = 2.91, HBCE M = 2.78, LWCE M = 2.29).

Analyses for Hispanic and Asian-American adolescents' revealed some unexpected findings. A marginally significant interaction between ethnic identity and cultural embeddedness (F (3, 85) = 2.27, $p < .10$) was found for Hispanic adolescents' identification with characters. This indicated that Hispanics with low ethnic identity more strongly identified with black characters in ads low in black cultural embeddedness (M = 3.50) than did Hispanics with high ethnic identity (M = 2.44, $p < .05$).

A significant interaction between ethnic identity and cultural embeddedness (F (3, 77) = 6.46, $p < .01$) showed that low Asian-American identifiers (M = 3.87) were more likely than high Asian-American identifiers (M = 1.73) to believe they were the intended audience for black character ads high in black cultural embeddedness ($p < .05$). Further analyses showed that Asian-American adolescents' attitude towards the ads was affected by the cultural embeddedness of the ads. A significant main effect for cultural embeddedness (F (3, 74) = 6.65, $p < .001$) indicated that Asian-American adolescents rated the black character ads high in black cultural embeddedness (M = 4.35) more favorably than other culturally embedded ads (HWCE M = 3.67, LBCE M = 2.99, LWCE M = 2.71).

Insert Table 5 – Table 8 about here

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSION

In addition to adding to the sparse research on adolescents, this study contributed to the field of consumer research by demonstrating the usefulness of an innovative technique that used the latest technology to vary the race of the model and the number of race-specific cultural cues in each experimental ad. Unlike past research that has asked consumers to evaluate black and white character ads that were quite different on dimensions such as body positioning, dress, celebrity, background, and product placement, this study used digital techniques to enable the researcher to control the vast majority of extraneous variables. This procedure insured that any differences in adolescents' responses to ads with black characters or ads with white characters must be attributed to the race-related cultural cues.

It was expected that black adolescents with high ethnic identification would respond more favorably to ads high and low in black cultural embeddeness than would black adolescents with low ethnic identification. There was partial support for this prediction. That is, high black ethnic identifiers perceived themselves more similar to black characters in ads high and low in black cultural embeddedness than did black adolescents with low black ethnic identity. Additionally, high black ethnic identifiers more strongly identified with black characters in ads low in black cultural embeddedness than did black adolescents with low black ethnic identity. However, black adolescents' ethnic identity had no affect on their attitude toward the ads or their belief of being the intended audience.

It is likely that black adolescents' ethnic identification may have played a stronger role based on the stage of ethnic identity development, the context, and the relevancy of the race-based cultural cues in the ad. The ethnic identity developmental model proposed by Marcia (1980, 1987, 1993) and Phinney (1989, 1990) suggests that as adolescents get older they are likely to progress from a foreclosed status to one of moratorium and then to ethnic identity achievement. Although this study did not test for ethnic identity status, it may be that many of these students in this study are in moratorium whereby they are still questioning and exploring their own ethnicity. It may require an achieved ethnic identity--firm commitment and deeper understanding of one's ethnicity--to be fully affected by racial and cultural cues in ads. Future research should examine differences in black adolescents' evaluations of ads based on the stage of ethnic identity. Another area that may heighten black adolescents' ethnic identity is the situation or the context. Feelings of being ethnic fluctuate, as evidenced by studies that show adolescents report feeling varying degrees of ethnicity depending on the situation they encounter and the people with whom they encounter (Rosenthal & Hrynevich, 1985). It is not known whether black students in this study felt more or less ethnic than usual during the experiment. Moreover, the culturally embedded ads used in this study may not have been strong enough to sufficiently tease out the effect of ethnic identity. Future research should investigate how adolescents' evaluate more powerful race-specific culturally embedded ads based on their ethnic identity.

Other findings from this study suggest the presence of black characters in ads, and in some cases black cultural cues, significantly influenced adolescents' responses. The main effects indicated that black adolescents' felt more targeted by, and rated more favorably black characters in culturally embedded ads than they did white characters in culturally embedded ads. These findings support identification theory that individuals choose models based on perceived similarities between themselves and the model. For blacks, race is a significant similarity cue. The results are also consistent with distinctiveness theory, which posits that individuals' distinctive traits will be more salient to them than more prevalent traits possessed by other people in the environment. Membership in a numeric minority group causes blacks to be more conscious of black models in ads.

Some of the more interesting and surprising findings pertain to non-black adolescents.' Unexpectedly, ethnic identity and cultural embeddedness of the ads did, in some cases, influence whites, Hispanics and Asian-Americans' responses to ads. For example, white adolescents' felt more targeted by black culturally embedded ads than they did white culturally embedded ads. Based on this evidence there is some support that whites, as members of a racial majority, are less likely to be mindful of their racial identity vis-à-vis a member of a racial minority. This was also evidenced by whites lower median ethnic identity score (Whites = 25, Hispanics = 30, Asian-Americans = 31, Blacks = 32).

Other examples indicated Hispanics with low ethnic identity more strongly identified with black characters in ads low in black cultural embeddedness than did Hispanics with high ethnic identity. Low Asian-American identifiers were more likely than high Asian-American identifiers to believe they were the intended audience for black character ads high in cultural embeddedness. Also, low Asian-American identifiers rated more favorably black character ads high in black cultural embeddedness than did Asian-Americans who were high ethnic identifiers.

Future research should look at the effects of ethnic identity and race/ethnic-specific culturally embedded ads on minority audiences such as Hispanics, Asian-Americans, and Native Americans.

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Table 1

Mean Responses and Standard Deviations for Black Ethnic Identifiers

	Low Black Identifiers		High Black Identifiers	
	LBCE	HBCE	LBCE	HBCE
Aggregate Scale				
Perceived Similarity	3.82	4.07	5.03	5.10
	(.48)	(.44)	(.48)	(.48)
Identification	3.26	4.03	4.82	4.15
	(.54)	(.51)	(.54)	(.54)
Ads Intended for Me	3.44	3.97	4.78	4.48
	(.56)	(.53)	(.56)	(.56)
Attitude Towards Ads	4.16	4.79	5.28	4.75
	(.51)	(.42)	(.45)	(.47)

LBCE = Low Black Culturally Embedded Ads

HBCE = High Black Culturally Embedded Ads

TABLE 2

Mean Responses and Standard Deviations for Black Ethnic Identifiers

	Low Black Identifiers		High Black Identifiers	
	LWCE	HWCE	LWCE	HWCE
Aggregate Scale				
Perceived Similarity	2.35	3.40	2.63	2.20
	(.48)	(.59)	(.46)	(.44)
Identification	2.93	3.17	2.33	2.19
	(.54)	(.66)	(.49)	(.46)
Ads Intended for Me	3.37	3.28	2.55	3.22
	(.56)	(.69)	(.51)	(.49)
Attitude Towards Ads	3.14	3.99	3.02	3.79
	(.47)	(.67)	(.42)	(.42)

LWCE = Low White Culturally Embedded Ads

HWCE = High White Culturally Embedded Ads

Table 3

Mean Responses and Standard Deviations for White Ethnic Identifiers

	Low White Identifiers		High White Identifiers	
	LBCE	HBCE	LBCE	HBCE
Aggregate Scale				
Perceived Similarity	3.15	2.83	3.10	2.75
	(.31)	(.29)	(.30)	(.31)
Identification	2.78	2.64	3.00	2.43
	(.35)	(.30)	(.30)	(.33)
Ads Intended for Me	3.48	2.89	3.39	2.67
	(.37)	(.32)	(.32)	(.35)
Attitude Towards Ads	3.16	3.73	3.55	3.46
	(.34)	(.32)	(.31)	(.36)

LBCE = Low Black Culturally Embedded Ads

HBCE = High Black Culturally Embedded Ads

Table 4

Mean Responses and Standard Deviations for White Ethnic Identifiers

	Low White Identifiers		High White Identifiers	
	LWCE	HWCE	LWCE	HWCE
Aggregate Scale				
Perceived Similarity	3.08	3.14	3.37	4.62
	(.30)	(.31)	(.30)	(.33)
Identification	1.97	2.03	2.06	2.93
	(.32)	(.33)	(.30)	(.35)
Ads Intended for Me	2.03	2.60	2.56	3.22
	(.34)	(.35)	(.32)	(.37)
Attitude Towards Ads	2.74	3.00	2.92	3.72
	(.31)	(.32)	(.31)	(.36)

LWCE = Low White Culturally Embedded Ads

HWCE = High White Culturally Embedded Ads

Table 5

Mean Responses and Standard Deviations for Hispanic Ethnic Identifiers

	Low Hispanic Identifiers		High Hispanic Identifiers	
	LBCE	HBCE	LBCE	HBCE
Aggregate Scale				
Perceived Similarity	3.69	3.89	3.40	4.18
	(.43)	(.50)	(.56)	(.47)
Identification	2.77	3.50	3.52	2.44
	(.34)	(.43)	(.46)	(.41)
Ads Intended for Me	3.31	4.78	3.10	3.27
	(.44)	(.53)	(.60)	(.50)
Attitude Towards Ads	3.68	4.05	3.99	3.08
	(.36)	(.46)	(.53)	(.41)

LBCE = Low Black Culturally Embedded Ads

HBCE = High Black Culturally Embedded Ads

TABLE 6

Mean Responses and Standard Deviations for Hispanic Ethnic Identifiers

	Low Hispanic Identifiers		High Hispanic Identifiers	
	LWCE	HWCE	LWCE	HWCE
Aggregate Scale				
Perceived Similarity	3.77	3.31	3.52	3.03
	(.39)	(.47)	(.43)	(.47)
Identification	2.80	3.30	2.23	2.23
	(.31)	(.39)	(.34)	(.39)
Ads Intended for Me	3.56	3.33	2.95	3.13
	(.41)	(.50)	(.44)	(.50)
Attitude Towards Ads	3.27	3.96	3.53	3.55
	(.33)	(.43)	(.41)	(.43)

LWCE = Low White Culturally Embedded Ads

HWCE = High White Culturally Embedded Ads

Table 7

Mean Responses and Standard Deviations for Asian-American Ethnic Identifiers

	Low Asian-American Identifiers		High Asian-American Identifiers	
	LBCE	HBCE	LBCE	HBCE
Aggregate Scale				
Perceived Similarity	3.03	3.83	3.12	2.40
	(.37)	(.41)	(.60)	(.60)
Identification	2.55	3.58	3.00	2.27
	(.30)	(.33)	(.46)	(.51)
Ads Intended for Me	2.76	3.87	3.27	1.73
	(.34)	(.40)	(.57)	(.57)
Attitude Towards Ads	3.48	4.33	2.51	4.37
	(.32)	(.36)	(.56)	(.46)

LBCE = Low Black Culturally Embedded Ads

HBCE = High Black Culturally Embedded Ads

TABLE 8

Mean Responses and Standard Deviations for Asian-American Ethnic Identifiers

	Low Asian-American Identifiers		High Asian-American Identifiers	
	LWCE	HWCE	LWCE	HWCE
Aggregate Scale				
Perceived Similarity	2.69	3.27	2.60	3.63
	(.41)	(.45)	(.45)	(.36)
Identification	2.11	2.41	1.67	2.50
	(.33)	(.66)	(.36)	(.30)
Ads Intended for Me	3.63	2.48	2.83	3.10
	(.40)	(.43)	(.40)	(.34)
Attitude Towards Ads	2.74	4.00	2.68	3.34
	(.34)	(.36)	(.43)	(.30)

LWCE = Low White Culturally Embedded Ads

HWCE = High White Culturally Embedded Ads